EARLY MEDIEVAL NORTHUMBRIA

Volume 24

Early Medieval Northumbria

Kingdoms and Communities, AD 450–1100

Edited by

David Petts and Sam Turner

BREPOLS

Printed on acid-free paper

CONTENTS

Part 2. Identities and Material Culture

CONTRIBUTORS

Dr Steven P. Ashby	Department of Archaeology, University of York
Prof. Michelle P. Brown	Professor of Medieval Manuscript Studies, Institute of English Studies, School of Advanced Study, University of London
Prof. Martin Carver	Department of Archaeology, University of York
Felicity H. Clark	Queen's College, University of Oxford
Dr Rob Collins	Portable Antiquities Scheme / School of Historical Studies, University of Newcastle
Dr Christopher Ferguson	Institute of Archaeology, University of Oxford
Dr Sarah Groves	Department of Archaeology, Durham University
Dr R. A. Hall	York Archaeological Trust

Sadly Richard Hall died before publication of this volume. He was best known for his pivotal role in the internationally significant 'Viking Dig' at 16–22 Coppergate, York. His research work did much to explain and understand the Viking world as well as the archaeology of York and its surrounding area. Richard also advised on the interpretation of the Coppergate excavations at the Jorvik Viking Centre and with his popular books did much to promote the public understanding of Vikings beyond academia. He will be greatly missed by all who knew him.

Dr Aleksandra McClain	Department of Archaeology, University of York
Dr John Naylor	Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
Colm O'Brien	University of Sunderland

Dr David Petts   Department of Archaeology, Durham University

Prof. Julian D. Richards Department of Archaeology, University of York

Dr Nicola J. Toop   Field Archaeology Specialists, University of York

Dr Sam Turner   School of Historical Studies, University of Newcastle

Dr Jenny Walker   Independent scholar

Dr Mark Wood   Independent scholar

ILLUSTRATIONS

Graphs

Maps

Tables

Plates

INTRODUCTION: NORTHUMBRIAN COMMUNITIES

David Petts and Sam Turner

The period from the fourth century until the twelfth century was one of profound social, economic, religious, and political change in northern England and southern Scotland. At the beginning of this era, central Britain was a border area, where the military frontier comprising Hadrian's Wall and associated infrastructure marked the northern edge of the Roman Empire. In the centuries that followed the end of Roman political control, the north became an area of contested political and ethnic identities. The kingdom of Northumbria emerged from the unification of the kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia and the subsequent extension of direct and indirect control over surrounding polities. Its direct power stretched from the North Sea in the east to the Irish Sea in the west, and from the Humber in the south to the Forth in the north; indirectly it claimed overlordship of polities in all neighbouring parts of Britain (Map 1). As with many early medieval kingdoms, however, the impact of Viking raids, military incursions, and subsequent settlement led to profound structural transformations. The power of the great kingdom faded; Northumbria's fragmented successors came to be squeezed between the increasingly unified polities of England and Scotland. The Anglo-Scottish warfare of the late tenth and eleventh centuries resulted in the region becoming a border area once more, this time between England and Scotland. The heartland territories of northern Northumbria, whose territory had persisted for perhaps five hundred years, were then finally and irrevocably divided (Rollason 2003: 277). Hidden in this bald outline of events are many other key developments, including the establishment and spread of Christianity, the transformation of the landscape, the collapse and reintroduction of a monetary economy, and the rise of urbanism. Not surprisingly, these complex and multifaceted developments in the area between the Clyde and the Humber have attracted a wealth of scholarship over the last hundred years (e.g. Hawkes 2007, Hunter Blair 1976, Rollason
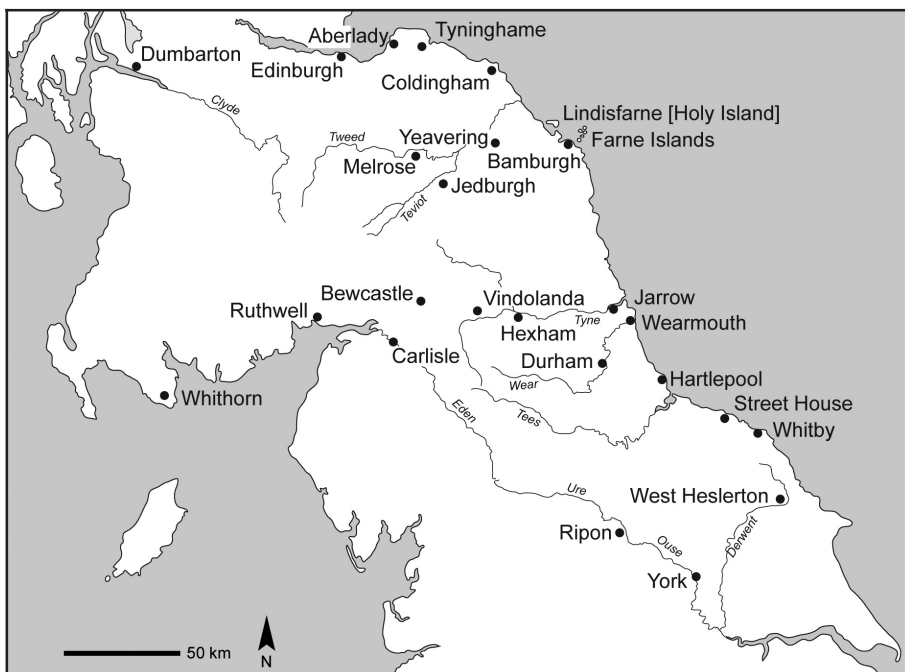
Map 1. Early medieval Northumbria, with key sites.

2003). It is equally unsurprising to find that the focus of this research is not evenly spread geographically, chronologically, or thematically. We explore further some of the reasons for this below, but they include the innate biases of the archaeological and textual records and wider national academic traditions and fashions. The conference held in Newcastle in 2006 in which this volume has its origins addressed aspects of this imbalance, shedding new light on areas and periods which had previously been relatively understudied, but it also reconsidered well-trodden ground in the light of new understandings and approaches developed by archaeologists and historians of the early Middle Ages in northern Britain. There was an avowed multidisciplinary, indeed interdisciplinary, approach taken; whilst it is axiomatic that individual scholars will have different methodological skills and interests, it is clear that any study of the early Middle Ages that aims to integrate all available data will provide a far more textured and nuanced consideration than one that limits itself to a single line of enquiry.

For the general public, and indeed for scholars, the defining image of early medieval Northumbria is that of its 'Golden Age' (Hawkes and Mills 1999). Broadly speaking, this was the period from the first spread of Christianity into the kingdom

in the early seventh century until the first Viking raids in the late eighth century. It is a period in which key religious developments coincide with the rapid political expansion of the kingdom from its core between the Humber and the Tweed both northwards and westwards. It is represented by a number of iconic individuals (Edwin, Oswald, Cuthbert, Wilfrid, Bede), sites (Lindisfarne, Bamburgh, Jarrow, Monkwearmouth, York), and artefacts (the Lindisfarne Gospels, the pectoral cross of St Cuthbert, ecclesiastical stone sculpture). It is readily apparent from this list that a key element of the popular story of this period is of the central role of Christianity in the kingdom. The 'Golden Age' retains a potent grasp on the modern imagination, whether refracted through the use of interlace on nineteenth- and twentieth-century burial monuments or the continued allure of the 'Celtic Christianity' believed to characterize religious practice before the Synod of Whitby. The Lindisfarne Gospels, for example, possesses the ability to crystallize modern senses of identity in north-east England, whilst the ongoing campaign to have Monkwearmouth and Jarrow inscribed as a World Heritage Site on the basis of their connections with Bede is another sign of the continued significance of the Northumbrian past in the region.

Many factors lie behind the evolution of this notion of a 'Golden Age' and its intimate relationship with the spread and growth of the Church. First, there are modern imperatives. The concept is at its strongest in the north-east, a region of England far from the modern political hub in south-east England, and one which has seen an extended period of industrial decline since the end of World War I. It is perhaps unsurprising that there has been interest in a time when the region was a major political unit and an internationally important centre for art and culture, even if the uses of 'Northumbria' have been vague and romanticized in the twentieth century (Vall 2007). It is interesting to note that across the later medieval and modern border in southern Scotland, where the Picts and the rise of the Scottish kingdom provide alternative national historical narratives, there is far less interest in early medieval Northumbria.

There are also important practical reasons behind the development of the seventh and eighth centuries as a focus for scholarship and research. It is hard to underestimate the central importance of the works of Bede in the writing of Northumbrian history. The *Ecclesiastical History* in particular provides the key narrative for the development of the kingdom up to *c*. AD 730. Whilst other sources, such as the *Historia Brittonum* and *The Ruin of Britain* supply complementary and sometimes differing versions of events, the works of Bede still form the core of all traditional histories of Northumbria. However, Bede's geographical location (Jarrow) and his ecclesiastical context mean that his perspective has inevitable biases. Other key

narrative sources, such as the *Vita Wilfridi* are also rooted firmly in the church of the Bernician/Deirian heartland. Combined, they provide a detailed historical narrative for the Middle Anglo-Saxon period in Northumbria that is lacking in earlier and later periods. The seventh and eighth centuries were also a period of economic wealth for the Northumbrian church, and an era that has left a profound impression on the surviving body of material culture. The corpus of pre-Viking stone sculpture from northern England and southern Scotland is of international importance; like the historical sources, it is entirely derived from ecclesiastical contexts. The sculpture is not only of particular art-historical interest in its own right, but also acts as a fundamental source of evidence for recognizing the spread of the Anglo-Saxon church, and so it complements Bede and other sources. Ecclesiastical investment in material culture was not just limited to stone sculpture; the kingdom's monasteries were also centres of manuscript production resulting in volumes such as the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Codex Amiatinus (Brown this volume). Finally, the importance of the Anglo-Saxon church for our understanding of Northumbria is reflected in the extent to which the archaeological record is dominated by well-excavated (and crucially, published) monastic sites, such as Monkwearmouth and Jarrow (Cramp 2005; 2006), Whithorn (Hill 1997), Hoddom (Lowe 2006), Hartlepool (Daniels 2007), and Ripon (Hall and Whyman 1996). It is clear that compared to other major British kingdoms, our image of early medieval Northumbria comes primarily through an ecclesiastical lens.

There is no question that whilst the Middle Anglo-Saxon period has attracted the most interest, there are certain areas and topics that remain under-researched. This is partly caused by significant lacunae in the available evidence. Although we have of a number of notable archaeological sites in northern Northumberland (e.g. Yeavering and Bamburgh Castle), and the extensively examined settlement at West Heslerton in North Yorkshire, very little excavation has been carried out on secular settlements, particularly those of low status (Hope-Taylor 1977; Powlesland 1998; Young 2003). Our understanding of the landscapes of Northumbria are frustrated by the virtual absence of pre-Conquest charters. Combined with the absence of surviving law codes, this means that developing an understanding of the mechanics of kingship is fraught with challenges, particularly when compared with kingdoms such as Wessex. More generally, both the historical and archaeological evidence is weaker for areas outside the core province, with the north-west of England and the central and eastern Scottish borders being particularly understudied.

The modern national border that runs across the heart of Northumbria has also influenced the research carried out on the early medieval kingdom. The presence of the border has both practical and conceptual implications, as can be seen clearly

in the study of early medieval sculpture. The British Academy's magisterial *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture* has catalogued, illustrated, and analysed early medieval material from England but not Scotland. This means that whilst all the sculpture from the southern part of Northumbria has been published to a modern standard (or soon will be), the only corpus that covers the Scottish material is over one hundred years old (Bailey and Cramp 1988; Cramp 1984; Lang 1991; 2001; Romilly Allen and Anderson 1903). Though a recent publication included a gazetteer of 'Pictish' sculpture, 'Anglo-Saxon' and 'British' sculpture from Scotland was not included (Fraser 2008). In addition to these practical issues, the presence of the modern border may influence the way in which the varied sculptural traditions between the Clyde and the Tyne are characterized. So-called Pictish sculpture is known from sites that are geographically south of such major Northumbrian centres as Lindisfarne and Bamburgh (e.g. Borthwick Mains, Scottish Borders) and Pictish influences can be seen clearly in so-called Anglo-Saxon sculpture from the upper Tweed valley at places like Jedburgh. However, as the research communities studying Pictish and Anglo-Saxon sculpture have no great overlap, little consideration has been given to this issue. Few scholars have attempted to develop approaches that address material from both sides of the border (see Toop this volume).

Besides appreciating these modern conceptual and practical challenges, it is also increasingly clear that communities across Northumbria differed from one another during the early Middle Ages. Although scholars use 'Anglo-Saxon' as a convenient shorthand to describe the society and culture during the early Middle Ages of what became England, it is clear that this was not a culturally homogeneous zone. Both between and within regions there could be differences in culture, politics, and the organization of society, which are made manifest in the surviving sources in many ways. Even in the Northumbrian heartlands, for example, it is clear that cultural landscapes which changed and developed over many centuries bore signs of their earlier heritage which would have made one region distinct from another. In this book, Mark Wood's paper on Bernicia shows how distributions of early medieval place-names vary at quite localized scales, betraying their origins in different languages and administrative areas. Whatever can be inferred about the early relationships between British and English speakers, these subtle variations would surely have affected the perception of these cultural landscapes even in the 'Golden Age'. Likewise, different regions of Northumbria had different settlement patterns, tenurial structures, and ways of exploiting the physical landscape. The origins of these patterns are still being debated, and much that we can discern of medieval arrangements today may have its roots in the tenth or eleventh centuries (Roberts 2008). Nevertheless, it seems highly unlikely that there was ever uniformity all

across the North: instead, the long-term inheritance of prehistory and the more immediate events of early medieval social and political life combined to create distinctive regional patterns within kingdoms. Likewise, we should not be surprised to find regional differences in material culture. The 'namestones' recently discussed by Robin Daniels (2007: 133–42) provide a clear example. The distribution of these small inscribed memorials is restricted to just six monasteries in the former kingdom of Bernicia. Even though there is good documentary evidence for close links between some of these sites and monasteries elsewhere (e.g. Hartlepool and Whitby in North Yorkshire), there is no trace of namestones elsewhere in Northumbria (see also Carver this volume). Beyond this monastic milieu, the evidence of small finds shows that certain types of metal objects were used much more frequently in some regions than in others (Richards and Naylor this volume). Such regional differences in landscapes and material cultures are being recognized in many types of evidence, and new interpretations made that begin to explain differences within kingdoms and subregions in terms of economy, society, politics, and ideology (e.g. essays by Ashby, Carver, McClain, Richards and Naylor, Toop, and Wood this volume).

The papers in this volume reflect an increased move towards looking at the region of Northumbria over the *longue durée*. Unlike much of the rest of England, the key debates linked to the history of fifth-century Northumbria are not dominated by assessing the extent and impact of Anglo-Saxon immigration. Instead, there is a developing interest in the nature of the Roman–early medieval transition (e.g Collins this volume; Wilmott and Wilson 2000), which reflects a wider interest in this period in British archaeology and history (e.g. Dark 2000; Faulkner 2000; Collins and Gerrard 2004; Esmonde Cleary 2001). The relationship between the rump of the Roman state in the early fifth century, particularly the army, and emergent medieval kingdoms, such as Rheged, the Gododdin, and Bernicia, as well as more shadowy polities, such as Craven, are increasingly being problematized (e.g. McCarthy 2002; Wood 1996). It is apparent that the early social and political development of the region was not simply a story of the relationship between two ethnic groups, the Anglians and the British, but a far more diverse process involving also the Irish and the Picts.

The collapse of Anglo-Saxon Northumbria under the impact of Viking raiding and settlement is another key stage in the region's history. In most scholarship, the rise of the Viking kingdom of York has held centre stage in this process. The archaeological understanding of the city in this period is strong and has allowed us to develop a sophisticated understanding of York's political, cultural, and economic transformation under its new Viking rulers (Hall this volume). The ongoing

publication of material from excavations at Coppergate and elsewhere in the region (e.g Cottam, Richards 1999) is allowing archaeologists to explore the material manifestations of Viking rule and the city's integration into international trading networks (e.g. Ashby this volume). Even so, the archaeology of Anglo-Scandinavian Northumbria continues to be primarily understood through the lens of Jorvik. It might well be argued that these developments in the south-east of the kingdom are in fact atypical of the wider Northumbrian experience during the Viking period. The evidence of place-names, historical sources, and material culture is strongest from the area south of the Tees, although the wider distribution of stone sculpture showing Anglo-Scandinavian stylistic developments is of some help in understanding these changes. The fact remains that we still understand little of the history or social and economic life of much of Northumbria in the later ninth and tenth centuries, with far fewer archaeological sites or textual sources available to illuminate this period.

During the tenth and eleventh centuries the definition of the Anglo-Scottish border was an important process, although there is a strong argument for recognizing a common 'border' culture well into the post-Norman period and perhaps only ending in the sixteenth century. This was also the time when the administrative and tenurial frameworks that came to structure the region through much of the medieval period come into place. Although the lack of charter material, or even the Domesday Book, for most of Northumbria has meant that there may have been a reluctance to explore this aspect of the region's development, there is an increased engagement with the existing material, combining the limited documentary resource with the testimony of the study of historic landscapes (Roberts 2008; Phythian-Adams 1996). This is allowing a renewed and critical eye to be cast upon the way in which land was held and organized, exploring such notions as 'multiple estates' and the small 'shires' (e.g. Norhamshire, Bedlingtonshire, Islandshire, Hexhamshire, Tynemouthshire, Heighingtonshire, and Staindropshire) that characterize much of northern England (O'Brien 2002; Winchester 2008). As elsewhere in England, the tenth and eleventh centuries also witnessed the creation of a network of parishes. By integrating traditional documentary sources with the evidence derived from detailed studies of patterns of investment and patronage in sculpture and built structures (see McClain this volume), it is possible to begin to explore the negotiation between centralized authority and local agency in the creation of these networks of power.

There are a number of reasons for this increased interest in wider aspects of the Northumbrian past. Firstly, not surprisingly, new and unexpected archaeological sites are being discovered and changing our understanding of the region. Some of
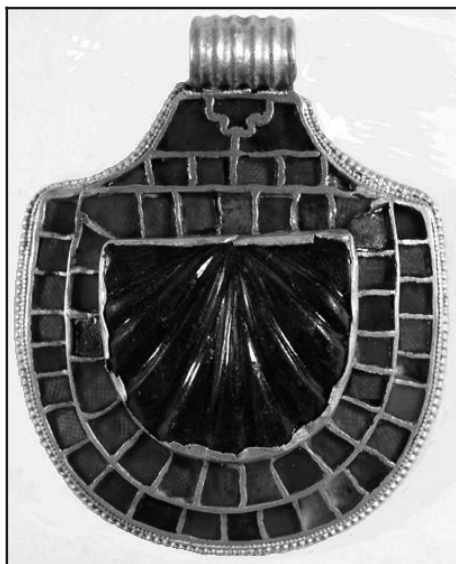
Figure 1. Shield-shaped pendant with over fifty cloisonné cells and a scalloped shaped gem in the centre from the seventh-century AD cemetery at Street House (N. Yorkshire). Photograph by Jean-Philippe Stienne. (© Hartlepool Museums 2008).

these, such as the recent discovery of a spectacular seventh-century cemetery at Street House, Cleveland, will undoubtedly become iconic sites in their own right (Sherlock and Simmons 2008) (Figure 1). However, the most important aspect of the expansion of development-driven archaeology is not the identification of the high-status or the unique. Rather it is the fact that small-scale rural sites are being found, counteracting the bias towards the excavation of high-status and ecclesiastical sites. As commercial archaeology is driven by different imperatives to research archaeology, early medieval material is appearing in unexpected locations, such as the probable early medieval reuse of an Iron Age enclosure in the later first millennium AD at Bowburn (County Durham) or the continuity of activity into the Anglo-Saxon period found on the Roman villa at Quarry Farm, Ingleby Barwick (Teesside) (Figure 2). Even well-studied cities such as York have benefitted from a growing number of archaeological interventions (Hall this volume). Going hand-in-hand with changes in the organization of archaeology are increasingly sophisticated field techniques. A good example of the potential of these developments is the appearance of sub-Roman and early medieval deposits on virtually every Roman fort along Hadrian's Wall or in its hinterland that has been investigated in the last twenty years (e.g. Birdoswald, South Shields, Binchester, Vindolanda). Previous generations of archaeologists working on the same sites had usually failed to recognize the admittedly ephemeral remains of these periods and removed them in their enthusiasm to tackle the Roman deposits. Another key development has been the increased use of metal-detectors by hobbyists recovering a wide range of important artefactual material. The success of the Portable Antiquities Scheme has allowed the material recovered in this way to be adequately recorded, harnessing an important new source of information (Richards and Naylor this volume). Finally, the advent of new analytical techniques has allowed archaeologists to start asking increasingly subtle questions of
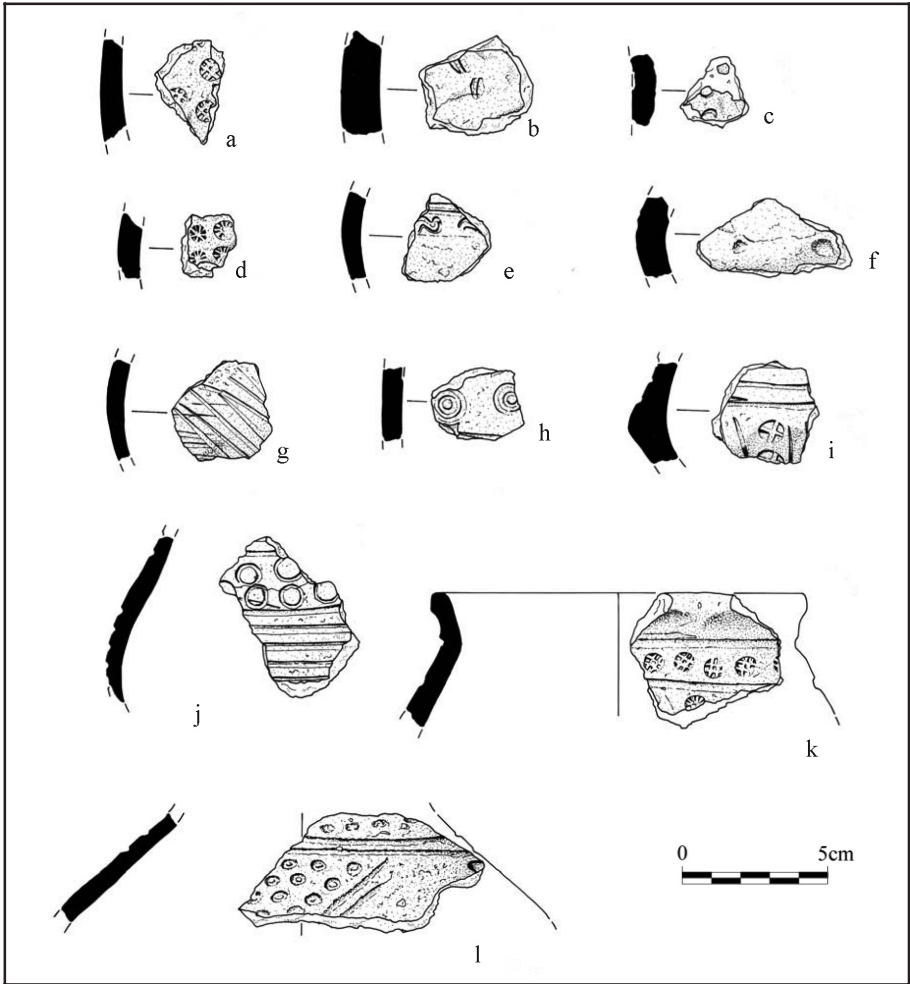
Figure 2. Anglian stamped pottery from the site of a Roman villa, Quarry Farm, Ingleby Barwick, Stockton-on-Tees. (© Archaeological Services Durham University)

existing data. For example, the isotopic analysis of bone chemistry has allowed patterns of migration and population movement to begin to be addressed with intriguing results (Groves this volume). Understandably, there have been no discoveries of new textual sources to compare with the new archaeological finds, although new editions of existing sources have been linked to major reassessments of their historical potential (e.g. the Gododdin, the Durham *Liber Vitae*, the historical works of Symeon of Durham: Koch 1997; Rollason 2000; 2004). There has

also been a developing integration between historical and archaeological approaches, with traditional divides being eroded as scholars are increasingly comfortable moving between textual and material sources (e.g Clark, Carver, and Brown this volume). However, one of the most important developments in the study of early medieval Northumbria has been an increasing willingness to look beyond the traditional confines of early medieval studies and bring a range of new, unfamiliar approaches to bear onto existing material (e.g. Walker, Clark, O'Brien, and Ferguson this volume).

In this volume we have attempted to place the papers in an order which will bring out some of the key tendencies which have been explored above, namely the increased appreciation of the regionality in the study of Northumbria over the *longue durée* and the importance of material culture, not just to illustrate the history of the region, but as a means of explaining and analysing social, economic, and cultural change. Often within the world of early medieval studies, the divide between those working in academia and those working 'in the trench' is a strong one. One of the encouraging aspects of both the conference and this volume is that contributors have been drawn from both sides of this divide, emphasizing both the success academic research has had in percolating into the commercial world of archaeology, and also demonstrating the very real potential that fieldwork and other research driven by cultural resource management issues has for contributing directly to our wider understanding of the subject.

Acknowledgements

References

Bailey, R., and R. Cramp. 1988. *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, vol. II: *Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire North-of-the-Sands* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

Collins, R., and J. Gerrard. 2004. *Debating Late Antiquity in Britain, AD 300–700*, BAR British Series, 365 (Oxford: Archaeopress)

Cramp, R. 1984. *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, vol. I: *County Durham and Northumberland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

———. 2005. *Wearmouth and Jarrow Monastic Sites*, vol. I (Swindon: English Heritage)

———. 2006. *Wearmouth and Jarrow Monastic Sites*, vol. II (Swindon: English Heritage)

Daniels, R. 2007. *Anglo-Saxon Hartlepool and the Foundations of English Christianity: An Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon Monastery*, Tees Archaeology Monograph, 3 (Hartlepool: Tees Archaeology)

Dark, K. 2000. *Britain and the End of the Roman Empire* (Stroud: Tempus)

Esmonde Cleary, S. 2001. 'The Roman to Medieval Transition', in *Britons and Romans: Advancing an Archaeological Agenda*, ed. by S. James and M. Millett, CBA Research Report, 125 (York: Council for British Archaeology), 90–97

Faulkner, N. 2000. *The Decline and Fall of Roman Britain* (Stroud: Tempus)

Fraser, I. 2008. *The Pictish Symbol Stones of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland)

Hall, R., and M. Whyman. 1996. 'Settlement and Monasticism at Ripon, North Yorkshire: From the 7th to 11th Centuries AD', *Medieval Archaeology,* 40: 62–150

Hawkes, J. 2007. 'W. G. Collingwood and Anglo-Saxon Sculpture: Art History or Archaeology', in *Making and Meaning in Insular Art*, ed. by R. Moss (Dublin: Four Courts): 142–52

Hawkes, J., and S. Mills (eds). 1999. *Northumbria's Golden Age* (Stroud: Sutton)

Hill, P. 1997. *Whithorn and St Ninian: The Excavation of a Monastic Town, 1984–91* (Stroud: Sutton)

Hope-Taylor, B. 1977. *Yeavering: An Anglo-British Centre of Early Northumbria* (London: HMSO)

Hunter Blair, P. 1976. *The Kingdom of Northumbria in the Days of Bede* (London: Gollancz)

Koch, J. T. 1997. *The Gododdin of Aneirin: Text and Context from Dark-Age North Britain* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press)

Lang, J. 1991. *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, vol. III: *York and Eastern Yorkshire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

———. 2001. *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, vol. VI: *Northern Yorkshire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

Lowe, C. 2006. *Excavations at Hoddom, Dumfriesshire* (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland)

McCarthy. 2002. 'Rheged: An Early Historic Kingdom Near the Solway', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquarians of Scotland*, 132: 357–81

O'Brien, C. 2002. 'The Early Medieval Shires of Yeavering, Breamish and Bamburgh', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 5th series, 30: 53–73

Phythian-Adams, C. 1996. *Land of the Cumbrians: A Study in British Provincial Origins, A.D. 400–1120* (Aldershot: Scolar)

Powlesland, D. 1998. 'The West Heslerton Assessment', *Internet Archaeology*, 5, <http://
    intarch.ac.uk/journal/issue5/westhescd_index.html>

Richards, J. 1999. 'Cottam: An Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian Settlement on the Yorkshire
    Wolds', *Archaeological Journal*, 156: 1–110

Roberts, B. 2008. *Landscapes, Documents and Maps: Villages in Northern England and Beyond, AD
    900–1250* (Oxford: Oxbow)

Rollason, D. (ed. and trans.). 2000. *Libellus de exordio atque procursu istius hoc est Dunhelmensis,
    ecclesie: Tract on the Origins and Progress of this Church of Durham* (Oxford: Clarendon Press)

———. 2003. *Northumbria, 500–1100: Creation and Destruction of a Kingdom* (Cambridge:
    Cambridge University Press)

———. 2004. *The Durham Liber Vitae and its Context* (Woodbridge: Boydell)

Romilly Allen, J., and J. Anderson. 1903 (repr. 1993). *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*
    (Forfar: Pinkfoot Press)

Sherlock, S., and M. Simmons. 2008. 'A Seventh-Century Royal Cemetery at Street House,
    North-east Yorkshire, England', *Antiquity*, 82.316, <http://antiquity.ac.uk/projgall/sherlock/
    index.html>

Vall, N. 2007. 'Northumbria in North-East England During the Twentieth Century', in
    Northumbria: History and Identity 547–2000, ed. by R. Colls (Chichester: Phillimore):
    277–92

Wilmott, T., and P. R. Wilson. 2000. *The Late Roman Transition in the North: Papers from the
    Roman Archaeology Conference, Durham 1999*, BAR British Series, 299 (Oxford: Archaeopress)

Winchester, A. 2008. 'Early Estate Structures in Cumbria and Lancashire', *Medieval Settlement
    Research*, 23: 14–21

Wood, P. N. 1996. 'On the Little British Kingdom of Craven', *Northern History*, 32: 1–20

Young, G. 2003. *Bamburgh Castle: The Archaeology of the Fortress of Bamburgh AD 500 to AD 1500*,
    Bamburgh Research Project

Part 1
Regions and Places

Military Communities and Transformation of the Frontier from the Fourth to the Sixth Centuries

Rob Collins

Introduction

Prior to the establishment of the Anglian kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira, northern England was a Roman frontier, represented monumentally by Hadrian's Wall. Roman imperial advancement into northern England began in the late sixties and seventies AD, and northern England, and occasionally portions of Scotland, was ruled by the Roman Empire until the early fifth century (Mattingly 2006; Salway 1997). Over three and a half centuries of military occupation created a frontier zone in northern England, with most of the political authority in the region focused on military installations. Unsurprisingly, Roman forts also seem to have been the main focus of settlement in the immediate post-Roman period, though it is uncertain how long this remained the case. It seems clear, however, that the region's status as a late Roman frontier with an established military presence was a significant factor in the establishment of dynastic kingdoms that eventually formed Northumbria. To that extent, it is important to review the state of affairs of the Roman frontier in the fourth and early fifth centuries and to assess the evidence for post-Roman settlement in the region in the context of a late Roman army. Particular attention must be given to the *limitanei*, the frontier soldiers of the later empire. It is argued that the Roman frontier never collapsed, but that its soldiers ceased to be professional fighters and instead became warriors tied to local elites, prior to any Anglian settlement in the region.

The Late Roman Frontier and After

By the fourth century, northern England was classified as a province, *Britannia secunda*, with a governor and his administration based at York. There was also a legionary fortress at York, and presumably this was the seat of the highest military command in the province, the *dux Britanniarum*. There were very few towns known in the province, the major towns being York, Corbridge, and Carlisle, but there were also 'small' towns such as Catterick (Wacher 1997; Burnham and Wacher 1990). There were probably other settlements larger than villages but not large enough to be considered towns, like Sedgefield in County Durham, but there are few of these known. Thus, urban occupation in the frontier is limited to a handful of sites. Rural settlements, usually enclosed, were by far the most numerous and typical, and these are found across the region (Hingley 2004). Outside of towns, there is limited evidence for elite rural residences like villas, but these tend to be found east of the Pennines and south of the River Tees, though there are a few examples as far north as the River Wear.

The region, however, was dominated by military settlement, principally forts and structures along Hadrian's Wall. There were over fifty military installations in northern England occupied in the mid- and later fourth century, all of which were connected by a good road network or accessible via rivers or sea shipping routes.

Archaeology in the region has focused on excavations at Roman military sites, particularly along Hadrian's Wall, and this clearly biases any interpretations. This might be contrasted with the current understanding of rural archaeology, which recognizes some evidence for late fourth-century activity at villas but very little from the native farmsteads that are representative of the bulk of the population in the region (Petts and Gerrard 2006: 43–59). Therefore, of necessity, this paper focuses on the military aspects of the Roman and post-Roman frontier.

Interpretations of the 'End' of the Roman Frontier

The end of the Roman period in Britain is a large topic in itself, tackled by numerous scholars (e.g. Dark 2000; Esmonde Cleary 1989; Faulkner 2004; Johnson 1983; Jones 1996a), but a review of the literature makes it clear that the 'end' cannot be simplified. Rather, there must be an explicit consideration of discrete aspects of interpretation. On the one hand, the end of Roman Britain is a political event that marks the divorce of Britain from continental imperial authorities. On the other hand, there were short-term and long-term cultural transformations that

span the date of AD 410, which relate in varying degrees to changing political conditions. Furthermore, the Roman diocese of *Britannia*, composed of four provinces with differing political, economic, and military conditions, cannot be treated as one homogeneous entity. Substantial socio-economic differences between the different regions of Britain require that scholars recognize multiple 'ends' for Roman Britain.

Hypotheses and speculations on the collapse of Hadrian's Wall and the frontier zone have changed over the past fifty years. Traditional interpretation held that Hadrian's Wall, and by extension all the military units further south, was denuded of all troops by a succession of usurpers and emperors to defend imperial interests on the continent (e.g. Collingwood and Myres 1937). According to a panegyric of Claudian, the *magister militum* Stilicho is often credited with a major withdrawal of soldiers from Britain, and it is assumed that those left were then removed by Constantine III to advance his usurpation in Gaul, leaving only the poorest quality soldiers (Mattingly 2006: 237–38). While some soldiers almost certainly were withdrawn to support Constantine III, there is no evidence that these soldiers came from the frontier in northern England. There is no contemporary documentary evidence suggesting a military withdrawal, and possibilities inferred from a supposed *Rescript of Honorius* or the *Gallic Chronicle* must be assessed in light of geographical and temporal distance not only from Britain, but from the northern parts of England — a region far less likely to be in direct contact with the continent (Bartholomew 1982; Thompson 1983).

Archaeological evidence has demonstrated that many forts in the north of Britain were occupied to at least *c.* AD 400/10, and it is significant that there is no clear, unambiguous evidence for the abandonment of any single fort along the length of Hadrian's Wall or elsewhere in the frontier in the early fifth century. Indeed, excavations at Vindolanda (Bidwell 1985), South Shields (Bidwell and Speak 1994), and Birdoswald (Wilmott 1997) have demonstrated a continuous sequence of occupation at these forts well into the fifth century, beyond the traditional 'end' date of AD 410.

Although the frontier was still garrisoned, the size of units was at least 50 per cent smaller than in previous centuries, meaning military strength was not as pronounced as it was in the second century (Elton 1997: 89, 99–100). However, if the idea that *all* soldiers were removed from Britain by Stilicho in AD 401 and the usurper Constantine III in AD 407 has lost much of its influence, there is still an assumption that any garrisons remaining in Britain following the revolt against Constantine III would have rapidly disbanded, due to being cut off from their sources of pay (Holder 1982: 103; Mann 1979; Salway 1997: 327). Under such conditions, it is argued, the frontier would have dissolved in the early fifth century.

Yet there is a growing body of archaeological evidence and scholarly interpretation supporting the notion of military continuity into the fifth century, at least in some form (Casey 1993a; 1993b; Jones 1996b; Wilmott 2000). In order to clarify this, it is best to provide an overview of the late Roman military, as this contextualizes the late Roman to post-Roman transition on the frontier.

The Late Roman Military

The armies of the later Roman Empire had changed and developed from those of the Republic and early empire (see Elton 1997 and Keppie 1998 for more detail). The most significant changes were the separation of civil and military offices in the imperial government and the permanent division finalized by Constantine in the early fourth century that separated the field armies, *comitatenses*, from the static frontier forces, the *limitanei*, variously known as *riparienses*, *ripenses*, *castellani*, or *burgarii* (Elton 1997: 99; Jones 1964: 608; Southern and Dixon 1996: 35). The *comitatenses* were more privileged in terms of pay, length of service, and retirement benefits, but field army units only ventured into the frontiers for the purpose of campaigning or defensive support of the *limitanei*.

It has been claimed that the *limitanei* of the late empire were little more than a peasant militia tied to the land, based on a passage from the *Life of Alexander Severus* in the *Historia Augusta* (Grosse 1920; Crump 1969). Despite the supposedly inferior military ability of the *limitanei*, evidence suggests that they were important and effective soldiers. They were stationed along every frontier; they were recruited in the same manner as the *comitatenses* and received supplies at the cost of the state; and land allotments were given to soldiers upon retirement (Jones 1964: 649–51; Isaac 1988: 146). The *limitanei*, therefore, were full-time military forces, not peasant-farmers with basic military duties, and they were fully incorporated into the command structure of the Roman military: 'Apart from their organization, deployment, and use, [the *limitanei*] differed from the field army only in minor ways' (Elton 1997: 99).

The *limitanei* had an important role in the frontier, which can be separated into three discrete functions: policing, intelligence gathering, and stopping or countering raiding (Elton 1997: 204–05; Isaac 1988: 146–47). The policing duty took the form of regulating the movement of people and goods through the frontier. Frontiers were not closed or exclusive; individuals and small groups were allowed to move into and out of the Roman Empire at the discretion of the *limitanei* and frontier commanders. Intelligence could be gathered by the very presence of the

limitanei in the frontier. The posting of units, patrolling, knowledge of local geography (enhanced through local recruitment), and contact with barbarians created an awareness of local circumstances and changes. The ability of the *limitanei* to stop or counter barbarian raiding is largely unknown. There is no evidence that supports the claim that 'fighting quality' was low among the frontier soldiers, but when incorporated into field armies on campaign, the *limitanei* are known to have fought well (Elton 1997: 206). It can be further suggested from silence in contemporary literature that the *limitanei* were effective at countering and/or deterring small raids, as no raids smaller than four hundred individuals are recorded in the fourth or fifth centuries (Elton 1997: 206). Regular patrolling, made possible by positioning soldiers in the *limes*, was a simple and effective manner by which the *limitanei* could fulfill their threefold role.

In addition to administrative changes brought about by the permanent establishment of frontier armies, arms and armour had changed such that very few soldiers would have appeared similar to the traditional legionary of the second century. Mail was the preferred type of armour, and different types of helmets, swords, and shields were used; in some ways these are more reminiscent of early medieval armaments (Alcock 2003: 160–71; Bishop and Coulston 2006: 199–232). This includes accessories such as brooches and belt sets with distinctive buckles and strap ends.

Estimates of the size of the late Roman military and individual units vary considerably, with such calculations based on a small number of documentary sources dating to the third and sixth centuries and fragments or anecdotes from other late Roman authors, including Ammianus. Evidence from the forts in Britain suggests that by the later fourth century unit strength was 30 per cent to 50 per cent of the paper strength of a second-century unit (Bidwell 1991). A typical fort in the frontier would probably have housed between 150 and 250 soldiers, with perhaps as many as 500 soldiers at the largest forts.

The *dux Britanniarum* was the highest military authority in the frontier, reporting to the *magistri militum* and perhaps even occasionally directly to the emperor. The *dux* was in command of all provincial troops with the exception of the *comitatenses* stationed in the area, and he was responsible for the protection of the frontier to which he was assigned (*Cod. Th.* 7.1.9; *Nov. Th.* 24.1). This included maintenance of fortifications (*Cod. Th.* 15.1.13), troop recruitment (*Cod. Th.* 7.22.5), and the collection and distribution of provisions (*Cod. Th.* 11.25). He also fulfilled a judicial function (*Cod. Th.* 2.1.2). The implication was that the *dux* in any frontier was the highest resident authority and could act with general autonomy. Below the *dux* were the regimental commanders, *praefecti*,

tribuni, or more generically *praepositii*, who replicated the authority of the *dux* at a more local level. It is important to stress that late Roman military commanders wielded social, economic, and political power not only over soldiers, but over anyone within their assigned territory, including civilians that were in no way tied to the military, as is clear from the Abinneaus archive from Egypt (Bell and others 1962). Furthermore, the limitations of technology and the distances involved often meant that in practice, regimental commanders acted in an autonomous fashion under the remit of their orders (Heather 2005).

Most of the soldiers in the frontier were probably from northern England and *Britannia* in general, but it is unknown how far each recruit travelled to be trained as a soldier and how much further the new soldier had to travel to join his new unit. By the fourth century, if not earlier, there may have been a diocesan training centre, which would facilitate distribution of new soldiers much like other supplies (Le Bohec 2000: 85–87). By the third century, the majority of recruits of legionaries (over 75 per cent) in Egypt and Spain were local, though this still indicates a significant percentage of 'foreigners'. In the sixth-century Eastern Empire, legislation makes it clear that the majority of static units of *limitanei* and *comitatenses* were recruited locally from the region in which a unit was posted (Jones 1964: 669–70). While there is a notable absence of evidence, this suggests that in all probability recruits for the fourth- and fifth-century *limitanei* were from the province or diocese that each unit was posted in, though this does not preclude a minority of new soldiers from more distant provinces in the empire.

The economy of the late Roman military is a complicated topic in itself, but for the purposes of this paper there are a few facts that should be related. By the fourth century, the majority of a soldier's pay was in kind rather than in cash (Elton 1997), itself related to the increased tendency for taxation in kind rather than in cash (Hopkins 1980). The change from tax in coin to tax in kind favoured an increased reliance on local supply, and good accounts have been provided from Syria (Pollard 2000) and Egypt (Alston 1995), where documentary evidence substantially complements archaeological data. Lacking documentary evidence, the zooarchaeological and palaeobotanical data from Britain are helpful with this, but there is still the complication of whether or not the local provisions were procured from outside the military community. The military community (of soldiers and their dependants) was an active productive force, and the productive capacity of the military should not be overlooked. The primary difficulty in understanding military production is that direct evidence is limited.

Metalworking is commonly found inside forts (Allason-Jones and Dungworth 1997). Epigraphic evidence also reveals zones of military control, for example

woodland resources in Lebanon and quarries in Mesopotamia (Pollard 2000: 241–42). Generally though, evidence for military production is indirect and must be inferred from existing evidence. Additional to these more local examples of military production are the state arms factories, the *fabricae*. These factories were a feature of the later empire and were generally located near the frontiers (James 1988), providing arms, armour, and clothing for soldiers, though they never replaced local production of these items (Coulston 2002). Thus, the production of essential material for military activity can be attributed to personnel attached to units or produced by the state and distributed to its soldiers.

Food production probably also occurred in the vicinity of forts, but it is uncertain who would have provided the labour for agricultural activity. People attached to the military and residing close to a fort, such as wives, siblings, children, and other dependants, could have been engaged in such activity, as could local natives. Evidence for local agricultural activity is seen at Housesteads, where field systems were established within 50 metres of the fort. Manning (1975: 115) has calculated that a garrison in Britain would have only required 1 square mile to fulfill the grain requirements for around five hundred people (calculated at a low annual yield/acre). More land would be required to grow enough grain for any further population associated with forts, in addition to the pasture for livestock, and winter fodder. Unfortunately, there is very little evidence for food production at forts, but this possibility must be considered. The primary point, in reference to military economy, is that the frontier as a region may have been largely self-sufficient in terms of basic food supplies in the late Roman period. This is not to claim that long-distance exchanges were unimportant. Prestige goods, be they wines or silks or other objects, would often have come from Western Europe or even further afield, but these were not essential to the basic day-to-day running of the frontier.

Late Roman Changes at Forts

The forts of northern England generally retained the same plan and layout from their construction in stone in the second and third centuries. Most of these features were retained until the fourth century, and it was only in the mid-fourth century and after that significant changes occurred, and at greater frequency (Collins 2007). These were recognized by the regular occurrence of activities at numerous forts that allowed for a series of trends to be identified. These trends are best discussed thematically as changes to fortification, changes to the plan and function of internal buildings, and changes in economy, but space precludes a full discussion here.

The traits indicate a trend for the internal reorganization of space in forts, and a changed ability or preference to execute repairs/refurbishment in a similar fashion to previous repairs and refurbishments, significantly contrasting the final decades of the fourth century with occupation from the first/second century through the mid-fourth century. These traits may be related to changed demands on the space of a fort from increased or decreased fort garrisons/populations or perhaps due to changing relationships between fort garrisons and the military hierarchy. What is clear is that considerable material changes took place at the forts along Hadrian's Wall in the mid- to late fourth century, in which there seems to have been a preference for timber building traditions, and the function of buildings, even important buildings, was no longer strictly guaranteed. For example, *horrea* (buttressed storehouses) were often converted to alternate uses, such as metalworking or providing accommodation, or demolished outright (Bidwell and Speak 1994; Wilmott 1997). This is significant, as bulk food and goods storage is considered a typical feature of Roman military occupation. Another example is the conversion of various elements of *principia* (official headquarters building of a regiment) for the purposes of butchery, metalworking, accommodation, or even inserting a Christian church or chapel (Bidwell and Speak 1994; Phillips and Heywood 1995).

Recognizing Sub-Roman Settlement

As noted above, previous studies of sub-Roman Hadrian's Wall have presented evidence for occupation and/or activity (Casey 1993a; 1993b; Dark 1992; Dark and Dark 1996; Wilmott 2000). This evidence is hard to compare to Roman-period occupation, as it is significantly different to the organized garrison life of the Roman military. A further complication is the ability of archaeologists to confidently date fifth- and sixth-century occupation when distinctive diagnostic material (such as Anglo-Saxon metalwork) is not available. However, it should be noted that at sites with the observed sub-Roman or early medieval activity, there is no conclusive evidence for a break in occupation. This suggests that these sites were probably occupied continuously from the Roman to sub-Roman periods (see Table 1).

Refurbished defenses consisting of earthen banks with stone or timber revetments have been considered sub-Roman in date, though this defensive refurbishment could be a very late fourth- or early fifth-century activity. As such, this activity on its own cannot securely date sub-Roman activity, but one can arguably

Table 1. Evidence of sub-Roman occupation at Roman forts. Black squares indicate definite evidence, while hollow squares indicate possible and probably evidence.

	Earthen defences with stone/timber revetment	Structural or Occupational Evidence	Class I Inscribed Stone	'British' type Artefacts	'Anglo-Saxon' type Artefacts	Evidence for Christianity	Burial Evidence
Along the Wall							
South Shields	■	■		■	■	■	■
Wallsend					■		□
Newcastle	□	■			■		■
Benwell					■		□
Corbridge		□		■	■		
Chesters				■	■		□
Housesteads	■	■		■	□	□	□
Vindolanda	■	■	■	■	■	■	□
Great Chesters					□		
Birdoswald	■	■		■	■	□	□
Castlesteads			□				
Stanwix		□					
Carlisle		■		■	■	■	
South of the Wall							
York		■		■	■	■	■
Malton	■				■		■
Filey	■						
Goldsborough				■			
Huntcliff				□			
Aldborough	■				■		
Catterick	■	■		■	■		■
Piercebridge	■			■	■		
Binchester		■			■		■
Bowes	■						
Brough under Stainmore					■		
Brougham			□				
Old Carlisle			□				
Old Penrith					■		
Kirkby Thore				■	■		
Maryport			□				
Manchester					■		■
North of the Wall							
Bewcastle				■		■	
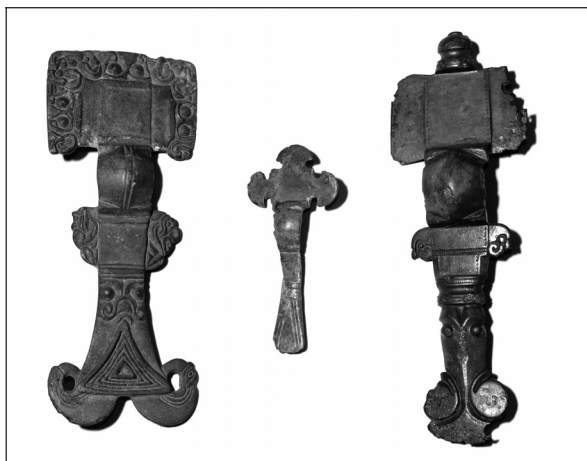
Figure 3. Anglo-Saxon brooches from Hadrian's Wall. The square-headed and cruciform brooches are from Benwell, while the small-long brooch is from Birdoswald. (Photograph courtesy of the Museum of Antiquities.)

favour a sub-Roman dating of this type of defensive refurbishment. Comparable building activity at sub-Roman sites in other parts of Britain, notably south-west England (e.g. South Cadbury, Somerset; Alcock 1995), Wales, and Scotland (e.g. Dunadd, Argyll; Lane and Campbell 2000), have been found dating from the fourth to ninth centuries (Alcock 2003: 179–83).

Post-Roman structural activity has been described in the relevant literature when encountered at each fort. Generally speaking, this activity can only be attributed to the sub-Roman period based on stratigraphic relationships with the latest securely dated Roman artefacts. At South Shields and Vindolanda, probable sub-Roman structures were built wholly or partly in stone, while at Birdoswald the construction seems to have been executed in timber.

Class I inscribed stones are a well-attested phenomenon of the 'British' west in the early medieval period (Nash-Williams 1950). However, these are generally confined to Cornwall, Wales, and south-west Scotland in their distribution. The Brigomaglos stone at Vindolanda (Jackson 1982) is the easternmost example of this class of monument, though others have been identified at Castlesteads, Brougham, Old Carlisle, and Maryport (Dark and Dark 1996: 60, 62).

British and Anglo-Saxon artefacts consist of small finds associated with ethnic craftsmanship. A typical British example is zoomorphic penannular brooches, particularly the Fowler (1964) types E, E1, F, F1, G, and D7, this last of which have been found in probable sub-Roman stratigraphic sequences (Snape 1992). Anglo-Saxon artefacts include the small-long, square-headed, and cruciform brooches and pins from a number of sites, for example South Shields, Wallsend, Benwell, Cor-bridge, and Birdoswald, as seen in Figure 3.

Possible church structures have been interpreted at four sites. The evidence ranges from apsidal-ended buildings to the remains of an altar, and artefacts marked with *chi-rho* provide further evidence of Christianity. At Housesteads and
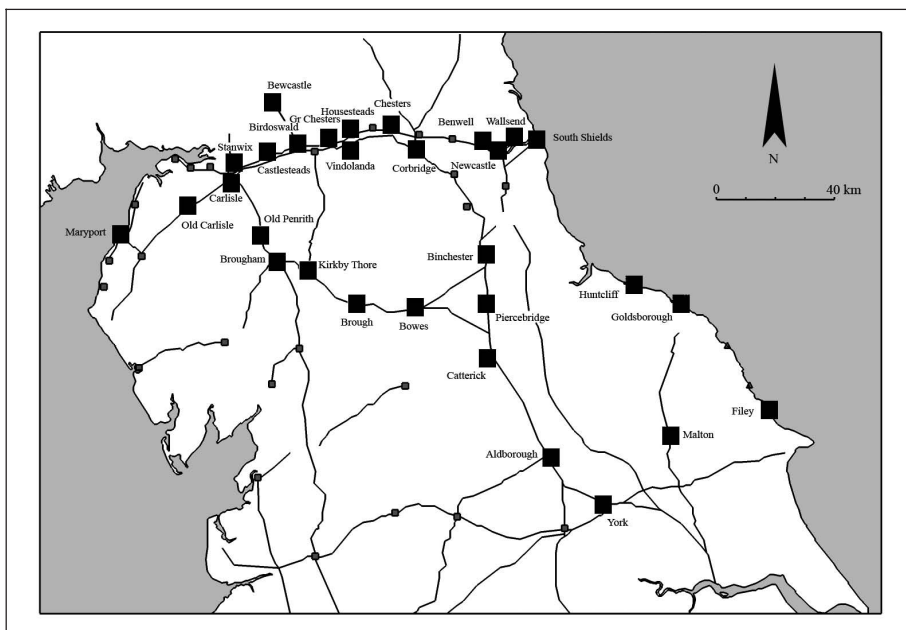
Map 2. A distribution map showing forts with possible, probable, and definite evidence for sub-Roman occupation in large black squares. Smaller dark grey squares indicate sites of other Roman forts occupied in the late fourth century.

Birdoswald, the probable churches are found in the north-west quadrant of the fort, while at South Shields the church occupied the *principia* forecourt, and at Vindolanda, it was built over the courtyard of the *praetorium*. Burial activity, whether in the British tradition as indicated by long cists or in the Anglo-Saxon fashion of furnished inhumations or cremations, form another class of sub-Roman evidence. The majority of Anglo-Saxon artefacts found in Roman forts to date are probably from burials.

On its own, the evidence for sub-Roman occupation of forts on Hadrian's Wall is ambiguous. The clearest picture emerges at Birdoswald, where the presence of timber halls provides a recognizable form of an early medieval building with an associated social structure. Unfortunately, there is no evidence from other important military buildings, like the *principia* or *praetoria* against which to measure the emergence of a timber hall. On the whole, the basic conclusion that can be reached via the sub-Roman evidence is that Roman forts continued to play a role in the settlement of the sub-Roman north (Map 2). When the sub-Roman traits are considered in conjunction with the fourth-century trends, there is a clear demonstration that the settlement was still centred on the former military communities.

Interpreting the Trends

There has been a presumption throughout this paper that the trends observed from the later fourth century relate to the professional military occupation of forts in the frontier, while the sub-Roman trends relate to occupation of a different nature. At this point it is appropriate to consider whether this presumption is valid. Two interpretations can be offered based on the evidence.

One interpretation is that the changes at forts in the later fourth century are significant and cannot be considered as official Roman 'military' occupation. The introduction of accommodation, butchery, and metalworking into the official and sacred space of the *principia* suggests that the building was no longer used for its traditional Roman military functions. Furthermore, the conversion or demolition of *horrea* suggests a significant shift in food storage. This significance should not be underestimated. Without *horrea*, where was bulk food stored? Does this perhaps suggest more localized supply and less bulk storage? The transformation of these two buildings that are so essential to the traditional upkeep and operation of a Roman unit suggests a fundamental change in the occupation of forts that cannot be conceived of as typically military. If such an interpretation were accepted, however, the consistency of the trends occurring throughout the frontier must be explained as well as the presence of late coinage and the general predominance of Yorkshire ceramics, both indicative of an administered central supply-system. Furthermore, the dating evidence for these changes is not specific enough to demonstrate that these changes occur at the same point at each fort. Under such circumstances, perhaps the military units in the frontier were gradually or rapidly replaced by irregular (barbarian?) units, local militias, or warbands under a regional commander.

An alternative interpretation is that a professional imperial garrison occupied the frontier until at least the early fifth century, but with major changes occurring within the units stationed in northern Britain in the second half of the fourth century. This interpretation requires the acceptance that the late Roman *limitanei* were very different to the frontier garrisons of the late third and early fourth centuries, not to mention the second-century garrison. If there was continuous occupation at these forts by *limitanei*, this could be interpreted as the degradation of the military professionalism of the *limitanei*, but there is no evidence that the military capability of such units suffered (see Elton 1997: 206 for a more thorough discussion).

Textual sources for the period shed little light on this matter. With the important exception of the *Notitia Dignitatum*, military units are not specifically

mentioned in reference to northern England. Raiding and campaigning are reported in a number of sources in north Britain in the fourth century (Breeze and Dobson 2000: 234–44), but without reference to specified units, attesting an official, permanent imperial military garrison. Yet the *Notitia Dignitatum* should not be ignored; Hodgson (1991) has supported the validity and utility of the *Notitia* in reference to Britain. If the document can be accepted as presenting the military situation in northern England *c.* AD 400, then we must accept that occupation at these forts was official military occupation — though significantly, perhaps fundamentally different to that of previous centuries. Unfortunately, neither the *Notitia* nor any other textual source provides any detail on the movement of northern British units in the early fifth century. So it is unknown whether units along the Wall, whether soldiers or war bands, were withdrawn or left in place. Thus far, there is no archaeological evidence supporting the rapid and total abandonment of fort sites. However, lacking further evidence that proves official military occupation or the installment of local militias, it is possible to explore it theoretically through the concept of occupational communities.

The Frontier in Transition: Occupational Community Theory

Recent research has focused on social aspects of the Roman military, illuminating the relationship between soldiers, the military, and society and incorporating social theory to further explain these relationships (e.g. Alston 1995; Goldsworthy and Haynes 1999; Isaac 1990; James 1999; 2001; Pollard 2000). Participation in the Roman military provided a foundation of identity for the soldier and structured his social life. This is most clearly seen in the sociological concept of an occupational community.

This theory has been reviewed elsewhere (Collins 2006), but its key components can be explained in brief. An occupational community is defined as 'people who are members of the same occupation or who work together [and] have some sort of common life together and are, to some extent, separate from the rest of society' (Salaman 1974: 19 n. 4). Occupational communities can be identified through three features: self-image centred on the occupational role and its specific qualities, interests, and abilities; membership of a shared reference group composed of other members; and the carrying of work activities, interests, and values into non-work lives (Salaman 1974: 21). Membership in an occupational community can be determined by three factors: physical and/or emotional *involvement* in work tasks; having a defined *status*, whether high or low; and the *inclusiveness* of the

work or organizational situation (Gerstl 1961; Salaman 1974: 27). The determinants are important because the situation that conditions the occupation will determine the scale of the occupational community, from the geographically local to global or cosmopolitan scale (Salaman 1974: 38–41; following Gouldner 1957; Merton 1957; Reissman 1949).

This concept of occupational communities provides a theoretical understanding of the late Roman military and is useful when considering the *limitanei*. A cursory examination of the late Roman military indicates that its members can be identified as an occupational community. Military practice, backed by legislation, allowed for the creation of a formidable occupational identity for Roman soldiers. Construction of such an identity enabled soldiers across the empire to recognize and relate to each other, superseding (when need be) the divergent relationships cultivated by units long garrisoned in one locality, as was typical in the later empire. This was as true for auxiliaries as it was for legionaries in the early empire, and would be the same for *limitanei* and *comitatenses* in the later empire.

The concept of an occupational community is archaeologically visible, particularly if the focus is not on individual identity, but on the identity of the unit collectively. Structural changes and use of space and of artefacts within these spatial contexts are more helpful, particularly as these aspects can be related to material manifestations of *inclusiveness*. The fort itself can be taken as an important symbol of the military community. The outer defenses can be a form of restriction for those inhabitants within the fort and those outside it. Inside the fort, the provision of certain facilities (accommodation, food storage facilities, etc.) is evidence for forced participation on the part of the soldiers, and the standardization in the form of these structures is a manifestation of institutional pervasiveness. Thus, we can compare the internal layout of a fort and the form of the buildings and defenses themselves with other forts in the region or even elsewhere in the empire. Any changes that deviate from the 'standard' military architecture of the time suggest a rejection of regularized, institutional military practices imposed from above. When there are changes, what does this reveal about the garrison?

A model has been proposed (Collins 2006) that postulates that the *limitanei* of northern England formed a regionally distinct occupational community through the fourth century. The military identity of this community continued to transform in the sub-Roman period into smaller clusters of localized occupational communities until the notion of a professional soldier disintegrated, to be replaced by sub-Roman communities formed around an elite and his warband.

The changed use of *principia* space is a prime example of a decrease in standardization and institutional control. The fact that *principia* were no longer limited to

official ceremonial and social functions associated with the garrison suggests that *praepositii* could authorize the reuse of what could be called the symbolic and administrative seat of the unit. For example at Vindolanda, the offices seem to have been converted for domestic use in the later fourth century. It may be that the clerks that normally used the offices were allocated that space for domestic use. There is also evidence for industrial activity, both metalworking and butchery, as at the legionary *principia* in York, though in this case the activity is dated to the early fifth century on the basis of radiocarbon dating. At other forts, the *principia* was used as a marketplace hall, as seems likely at Newcastle in the mid-fourth century (Snape and Bidwell 2002), or was converted for use as a Christian church, as at South Shields in the early fifth century or later (Bidwell and Speak 1994). That lack of standard conversion of *principia* space or the date of such conversions suggests that this was not imposed on each garrison from central headquarters. Rather, the *principia* remains an important space, which is particularly evident when used for a church or marketplace. However, while still important, the *principia* perhaps lost the prestige once associated with it.

The variability of the use of space in forts in later fourth-century northern England indicates an overall loss of control under the command of the *dux Britanniarum*. Yet this has to be measured against factors that demonstrate the continued institutional practices of the late Roman military. For example, *praetoria* continue to be refurbished and presumably occupied, and the same is true of barrack structures and officers' quarters. The maintenance of this residential hierarchy reflects the hierarchy of military authority so fundamental to the organization of the Roman army, helping to reinforce military identity. The combination of trends that indicate continued and transformed military practice consistently throughout the northern British frontier suggests a regional scale for the soldierly identity. Yet the differences between each fort hint at a lack of consistency of practice even at the regional level. Thus, a regional military occupational community existed from the mid-fourth century until at least the end of the Roman period in the frontier, but how long this regional military occupational community survived after the political break with continental imperial authorities is difficult to say, due to the problems of dating the fifth and sixth centuries archaeologically.

There are no specific trends from the sub-Roman period that demonstrate the presence of a military occupational community. The only complete sub-Roman building plans available from a Roman fort are at Birdoswald (Wilmott 1997), and these timber halls are closely associated with early medieval social formations of a leader and warband rather than professional soldiers (see Walker this volume). Hall structures have yet to be discovered at other late or sub-Roman forts, but if

they were, this would be an indication of geographically widespread transformation of frontier garrisons. There is not enough evidence yet to assign the significance of the Birdoswald halls beyond that of the site's history. However, halls are structures that should be anticipated at forts occupied in the late Roman period. Evidence for halls at other forts may well have gone unrecognized and been missed in previous excavations. Symbolically, halls are a fusion of Roman *principia*, *praetoria*, and barracks and reinforce personal rather than institutional relationships (Alcock 2003: 252–54). As such, these structures fit well in the transformation of a regionally based soldierly community to a number of local warbands.

Of the sub-Roman developments noted above, the refurbishment of defences and construction of possible churches are consistent with institutional practices. Defensive refurbishment is related to the status of the leader of the settlement and the settlement itself as much as any actual defensive requirements of the settlement. Accepting that a sub-Roman date can be assigned, then, I would argue that defensive refurbishment signals a sub-Roman community with a martial capacity, probably through warriors personally bound to their leader.

The construction of possible churches in Roman forts would have a significant impact on the identity of the fort community. These structures are dated to the late fourth century or beyond, with the churches at South Shields and Vindolanda more probably dating to the fifth century. The placement of a church in the *principia* suggests Christianity replaced regimental and imperial shrines, and this central situation could reflect the perceived importance of the church for the military community while the placement of a church in or succeeding a *praetorium* could be interpreted as a status enhancement. Constantine's conversion in the early fourth century provided political incentive for the conversion to Christianity, and the provision of a church by the *praepositus* could enhance his status amongst his superiors as well as generate a sense of loyalty and religious cohesion on the part of any Christian elements of his garrison. The practice of Christianity (or any religion) would have strongly contributed to the construction of identity, and church attendance could be used to include or exclude people inside or outside of the community. Christianity could also act as a marker and enhancer of status. After the political break with the continent, Christianity may also have served as an ideological link to a political and fiscal imperial past that no longer existed. In other words, Christians were the successors of the 'Romans'.

Defensive refurbishment with earth banks and stone/timber revetments and the construction of churches in the sub-Roman period hint at a continued sense of shared identity along Hadrian's Wall in the sub-Roman period. These features monumentally delineate a settlement and provide an ideological focus for the

population. As such, defensive refurbishment and church construction are not part of a military identity in the sub-Roman period, but these practices were almost certainly inherited from a military past. These features signal sub-Roman settlements whose populations had developed from a military occupational community. Unfortunately, no precise date can be provided for when this regional military occupational community ceased to exist. However, this could have happened over the course of time.

This interpretation may not be universally accepted, but it offers a cohesive hypothesis of the transformation of soldierly identity in the frontier zone which accords with the archaeological evidence. Such an interpretation also has implications for understanding the formation of any post-Roman kingdoms. First, the evolution of soldierly occupational communities into local warbands establishes a firm martial tradition in the frontier prior to and beyond the end of the Roman period. Second, such a situation also means that there were established political territories, alliances, and rivalries. Any incoming Anglian emigrants would have needed to consider this. While such conditions are typically assumed when discussing the emergence of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, it is often done without reference to the Roman past. In the case of the northern frontier, there may have been a more substantial body of armed men, well trained in a long-standing martial tradition, than seen in other parts of England.

Conclusions

The frontier zone of northern England underwent a number of changes in the later fourth century, prior to the political separation of Britain from the Roman Empire. These changes are indicative of increasing regionalization of the Roman diocese, such that the frontier may have been largely self-sufficient in economic terms. Comparison of the late fourth-century evidence with the early post-Roman evidence suggests a transformation of the soldierly garrisons of forts throughout the frontier into local warbands. The scale of subsequent political formations cannot be demonstrated, but it seems quite likely that the soldiers-cum-warriors were a significant factor in the development of sub-Roman polities, perhaps further contributing to the contrasts between Northumbria and the other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.

Abbreviations

Cod. Th. = *Codex Theodosianus*: *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions*, trans. by C. Pharr (New York: Greenwood Press, 1969)
Nov. Th. = *Novella Theodosiani*; see Pharr 1969 (above)

References

Alcock, L. 1995. *Cadbury Castle, Somerset: The Early Medieval Archaeology* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press)
———. 2003. *Kings and Warriors, Craftsmen and Priests in Northern Britain AD 550–850* (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland)
Allason-Jones, L., and D. Dungworth. 1997. 'Metalworking on Hadrian's Wall', in *Roman Frontier Studies 1995*, ed. by W. Groenman-van Waateringe and others (Oxford: Oxbow), 317–21
Alston, R. 1995. *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt: A Social History* (London: Routledge)
Bartholomew, P. 1982. 'Fifth-Century Facts', *Britannia*, 13: 261–70
Bell, H., and others. 1962. *The Abinnaeus Archive: Papers of a Roman Officer in the Reign of Constantius II* (Oxford: Clarendon Press)
Bidwell, P. 1985. *The Roman Fort of Vindolanda at Chesterholm, Northumberland* (London: Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England)
———. 1991. 'Later Roman Barracks in Britain', in *Roman Frontier Studies 1989*, ed. by V. Maxfield and M. Dobson (Exeter: Exeter University Press), 9–15
Bidwell, P., and S. Speak. 1994. *Excavations at South Shields Roman Fort*, vol. I (Newcastle: Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne)
Bishop, M., and J. Coulston. 2006. *Roman Military Equipment: From the Punic Wars to the Fall of Rome* (Oxford: Oxbow)
Breeze, D., and B. Dobson. 2000. *Hadrian's Wall*, 4th edn (London: Penguin)
Burnham, B., and J. Wacher. 1990. *The Small Towns of Roman Britain* (London: Batsford)
Casey, P. J. 1993a. 'The End of Fort Garrisons on Hadrian's Wall: A Hypothetical Model', in *L'Armée romaine et les barbares du IIIᵉ au VIIᵉ siècle*, ed. by F. Vallet and M. Kazanski (Rouen: Musée des Antiquités Nationales), 259–67
———. 1993b. 'The End of Garrisons on Hadrian's Wall: An Historico-environmental Model', in *The Later Roman Empire Today*, ed. by D. Clark and others (London: University College of London), 69–80
Collingwood, R. G., and J. N. L. Myres. 1937. *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* (Oxford: Clarendon Press)
Collins, R. 2006. 'Late Roman Frontier Communities in Northern Britain: A Theoretical Context for the "End" of Hadrian's Wall", in *TRAC 2005: Proceedings of the Fifteenth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Birmingham 2005*, ed. by B. Croxford and others (Oxford: Oxbow), 1–11
———. 2007. 'Decline, Collapse, or Transformation? Hadrian's Wall in the Fourth–Fifth Centuries AD' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of York)
Coulston, J. 2002. 'Arms and Armour of the Late Roman Army', in *A Companion to Medieval Arms and Armour*, ed. by D. Nicolle (Woodbridge: Boydell), 3–24

Crump, G. 1969. 'Ammianus Marcellinus as a Military Historian' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Illinois)

Dark, K. 1992. 'A Sub-Roman Re-defence of Hadrian's Wall?', *Britannia*, 23: 111–20

———. 2000. *Britain and the End of the Roman Empire* (Stroud: Tempus)

Dark, K., and P. Dark. 1996. 'New Archaeological and Palynological Evidence for a Sub-Roman Reoccupation of Hadrian's Wall', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 5th series, 24: 57–72

Elton, H. 1997. *Warfare in Roman Europe AD 350–425* (Oxford: Clarendon Press)

Esmonde Cleary, S. 1989. *The Ending of Roman Britain* (London: Routledge)

Faulkner, N. 2004. *The Decline and Fall of Roman Britain* (Stroud: Tempus)

Fowler, E. 1964. 'Celtic Metalwork of the Fifth and Sixth Centuries AD', *Archaeological Journal*, 120: 98–160

Gerstl, J. E. 1961. 'Determinants of Occupational Community in High Status Occupations', *Sociology Quarterly*, 2: 37–48

Goldsworthy, A., and I. Haynes (eds). 1999. *The Roman Army as a Community* (Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology)

Gouldner, A. W. 1957. 'Cosmopolitans and Locals: Towards an Analysis of Latent Social Roles', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 2: 281–306

Grosse, R. 1920. *Römische Militärgeschichte von Gallienus bis zum Beginn der Byzantinschen Themenverfassung* (Berlin: Weidmann)

Heather, P. 2005. *The Fall of the Roman Empire: A New History* (London: Macmillan)

Hingley, R. 2004. 'Rural Settlement in Northern Britiain', in *A Companion to Roman Britain*, ed. by M. Todd (Oxford: Blackwell), 327–48

Hodgson, N. 1991. 'The *Notitia Dignitatum* and the Later Roman Garrison of Britain', in *Roman Frontier Studies 1989*, ed. by V. Maxfield and M. Dobson (Exeter: Exeter University Press), 84–92

Holder, P. 1982. *The Roman Army in Britain* (London: Batsford)

Hopkins, K. 1980. 'Taxes and Trade in the Roman Empire (200 B.C.–A.D. 400)', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 70: 101–25

Isaac, B. 1988. 'The Meaning of *Limes* and *Limitanei* in Ancient Sources', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 78: 125–47

———. 1990. *The Limits of Empire: The Roman Army in the East* (Oxford: Clarendon Press)

Jackson, K. 1982. 'Brigomaglos and St. Briog', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 5th series, 10: 61–66

James, S. 1988. 'The *Fabricae*: State Arms Factories of the Later Roman Empire', in *Military Equipment and the Identity of Roman Soldiers, Proceedings of the Fourth Roman Military Equipment Conference*, ed. by J. Coulston, BAR International Series, 394 (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports), 257–331

———. 1999. 'The Community of Soldiers: A Major Identity and Centre of Power in the Roman Empire', in *TRAC 98: Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Leicester 1998*, ed. by P. Baker and others (Oxford: Oxbow), 14–25

———. 2001. 'Soldiers and Civilians: Identity and Interaction in Roman Britain', in *Britons and Romans: Advancing an Archaeological Agenda*, ed. by S. James and M. Millett, CBA Research Report, 125 (York: Council for British Archaeology), 77–89

Johnson, S. 1983. *Later Roman Britain* (London: Book Club Associates)

Jones, A. H. M. 1964. *The Later Roman Empire 284–602* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

Jones, M. E. 1996a. *The End of Roman Britain* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press)

———. 1996b. 'Geographical-Psychological Frontiers in Sub-Roman Britain', in *Shifting Frontiers in Late Antiquity*, ed. by R. Mathisen and H. Sivan (Aldershot: Variorum), 45–58

Keppie, L. 1998. *The Making of the Roman Army: From Republic to Empire* (London: Routledge)

Lane, A., and E. Campbell. 2000. *Dunadd: An Early Dalriatic Capital* (Oxford: Oxbow)

Le Bohec, Y. 2000. *The Imperial Roman Army*, trans. by R. Bate (London: Routledge)

Mann, J. 1979. 'Hadrian's Wall: The Last Phases', in *End of Roman Britain*, ed. by J. Casey, BAR British Series, 71 (Oxford: Tempus Reparatum), 144–51

Manning, W. H. 1975. 'Economic Influences on Land Use in the Military Areas of the Highland Zone During the Roman Period', in *The Effect of Man on the Landscape: The Highland Zone*, ed. by J. G. Evans, S. Limbrey, and H. Cleere, CBA Research Report, 11 (York: Council for British Archaeology), 112–16

Mattingly, D. 2006. *An Imperial Possession: Britain in the Roman Empire* (London: Allen Lane)

Merton, R. K. 1957. *Social Theory and Social Structures* (New York: Free Press)

Nash-Williams, V. E. 1950. *The Early Christian Monuments of Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales)

Petts, D., and C. Gerrard. 2006. *Shared Visions: The North-East Regional Research Framework for the Historic Environment* (Durham: Durham County Council)

Phillips, D., and B. Heywood. 1995. *Excavations at York Minster* (London: HMSO)

Pollard, N. 2000. *Soldiers, Cities, and Civilians in Roman Syria* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press)

Reissman, L. 1949. 'A Study in Role Conceptions in Bureaucracy', *Social Forces*, 27: 306–31

Salaman, G. 1974. *Community and Occupation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Salway, P. 1997. *A History of Roman Britain* (New York: Oxford University Press)

Snape, M. E. 1992. 'Sub-Roman Brooches from Roman Sites on the Northern Frontier', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 5th series, 20: 158–60

Snape, M. E., and P. Bidwell. 2002. 'Excavations at Castle Garth, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1976–92 and 1995–6', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 5th series, 31: 1–249

Southern, P., and K. Dixon. 1996. *The Late Roman Army* (London: Routledge)

Thompson, E. 1983. 'Fifth-Century Facts?', *Britannia*, 14: 272–74

Wacher, J. 1997. *The Towns of Roman Britain*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge)

Wilmott, T. 1997. *Birdoswald: Excavations of a Roman Fort on Hadrian's Wall and its Successor Settlements, 1987–92* (London: English Heritage)

———. 2000. 'The Late Roman Transition at Birdoswald and on Hadrian's Wall', in *The Late Roman Transition in the North*, ed. by T. Wilmott and P. Wilson, BAR British Series, 299 (Oxford: Archaeopress), 13–23

Bernician Transitions: Place-Names and Archaeology

Mark Wood

Introduction

This study concerns Bernicia and the transition from a Roman-dominated frontier zone at the beginning of the fifth century to an Anglian kingdom by the early seventh century. This is a period of great change and complexity where the current state of knowledge is limited and unsatisfactory.

The name Bernicia is a Latinization of Old Welsh *Beornica*, *Berneich*, and *Birneich*, and Old English *Beornice*. Bede refers to the people of Bernicia as the *Bernicii* in the *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (*c.* AD 731) (II, 14; III, 1). Recent scholarship has suggested a derivation from Primitive Welsh **Bernecc*, **Birnecc* 'the land of the mountain passes' < Brittonic **Bern-/Birnaccia* from Celtic **berna*, as in Old Irish *bern*, Gaelic *bearn* 'a gap, a mountain pass' (Jackson 1953: 701–05; Watts 2004: 52).

Historical sources imply that the kingdom of Bernicia had been established by the late sixth or early seventh century, a regional hegemony with a permanent dynastic Anglian hierarchy that controlled an area of territory. These early sources do not clearly define this territory, but suggestions by scholars for a northern boundary by the beginning of the seventh century include the Firth of Forth, the River Tweed, or Tweed valley, with a southern boundary on the River Tyne, River Tees, or Tees valley (Cramp 1988: 74). For the purposes of this study the territory is taken to extend from the Tees valley to the Firth of Forth, that is, north-east England and south-east Scotland.

Bernicia should be distinguished from Northumbria. There was a process of expansion beginning in *c.* AD 604 with Bernicia's annexation of Deira (the Anglian kingdom to the south) that led to the formation of a federated over-kingdom

north of the River Humber. Only in the late seventh century was the folk-name *Nordanhymbre* 'Northumbrians' coined, and this was adopted by Bede in the early eighth century to describe this kingdom as *Northanhymbrorum/-hymbra*, and its people as *Northan-/Nordanhymbri* (Higham 1993: 1).

A number of narratives have been constructed about Bernicia since the eighteenth century and have mainly derived from historical and archaeological evidence. Interpretations regarding this difficult area of transition have been dominated by historical and archaeological discourses. Despite the limited nature of the existing evidence, place-names have largely been ignored as a potential source. Archaeologists especially have been sceptical and dismissive about the usefulness of place-name evidence and have generally failed to integrate this with archaeological evidence despite most scholars asserting the need for cross-disciplinary study. For Bernicia, this problem is compounded by the limited investigation of place-name evidence by place-name scholars. There has been no unitary study of place-names in Northumberland, Durham, and south-east Scotland. Instead, studies are fragmentary, only focusing on smaller areas.

This study focuses on this previously unexploited evidence because, crucially, the one certain change in Bernicia in this period was language: from a Brittonic- to a Germanic-based language. Place-naming is a particular manifestation of language, and place-names provide both a source of linguistic evidence and an indicator of language shift. As the important issue regarding Bernicia (and other areas of England) is the almost total replacement of Brittonic names with English names, the analysis of place-naming could potentially provide new data about the Bernician transition.

All types of evidence need to be exploited, and place-names are a valuable resource that is plentiful and relatively evenly distributed. Provided the limitations of place-names are acknowledged and taken into account, they may provide clues about patterns of linguistic change. Place-names can be used to investigate the early Anglian presence, Brittonic continuity or discontinuity, and Anglian-Brittonic relationships as they are an area of interface between the native British and Germanic people. However, they cannot be used to compare with historical dating or to reconstruct an accurate or detailed Anglian settlement or political history for the fifth to early seventh centuries. A single, coherent, concluding narrative cannot be constructed to explain the transition in Bernicia. Instead, I will seek to reconcile the different narratives that arise from an integration of place-name, archaeological, and historical discourses.

Place-Names and Language Shift

There is an ongoing debate between scholars as to what language shift actually shows. This issue is important because language shift has been firmly linked by scholars to the renaming of places. In Britain the change from Brittonic to the Old English language was accompanied by the introduction of vast numbers of Germanic place-names. The vast majority of place-names in use in England were coined in the Old English language. Generally, place-name experts such as Margaret Gelling (1997: 22, 55) emphasize a correlation between language and ethnicity, that language shift and place-name change requires large numbers of incoming people and population replacement with a new racial or ethnic group.

On the other side of the debate, archaeologists and historians have argued that there is no direct correlation between language and ethnicity. They commonly explain language shift and place-name change as being due to elite dominance by a small number of aristocratic Anglo-Saxons and to religious and/or secular patronage of a language as an indicator of group identity. Their argument is that people can often adopt the languages of those that dominate them, and therefore place-names may not necessarily reflect the ethnic composition of settlements (see e.g. Higham 1992: 189, 192–93, 197).

Linguists argue that language shift can be a voluntary or coercive process that can involve large-scale movements of people or other socio-political, economic, geographical, and cultural factors that can include trade, conquest, social access and mobility, and the practicality, utility, power, prestige, and status of languages. There is an initial bilingual period replaced by dominant language monolingualism. Linguists emphasize that language is a key cultural marker and that the ethnic symbolic function of language is central (although language groups are not necessarily ethnic groups). It is used by groups and individuals as an important element of identity, including ethnic and racial identity. There is therefore a strong but not direct correlation between identity and linguistic features. Language shift and ethnic change also do not necessarily correlate to changes in cultural content and archaeological material evidence, even if this is often the case (Edwards 1985: 48–52, 62–64, 71, 85, 92–94; Ehret 1988: 569–70; Coulmas 1992: 71, 167–69, 171, 181–86; Waddell and Conroy 1997: 129–35; Joseph 2004: 23, 64, 170).

Geneticists also argue that there is no direct correlation between language shift and gene replacement. Language shift can be due to elite dominance imposed by a small minority. They point out, however, that language differences do generate or reinforce genetic barriers between populations and that, although geographic barriers are factors behind genetic differences, linguistic barriers are also important

(see Sokal 1988: 1722; Cavalli-Sforza 1991; Rosser and others 2000: 1535; also Falsetti and Sokal 1993; Poloni and others 1997; Barbujani 1997).

I do not intend to enter into this debate in this chapter. Instead, I will refer to place-names as indicating the presence of either Brittonic or English language speakers (or both).

A Toponymic Study of Bernicia

A typical preoccupation of place-name studies was with early Anglo-Saxon settlement and the distribution and chronology of place-names. The main approach rested on the typology of place-name elements. This preoccupation with chronology has continued with Cox (1975), Gelling (1979; 1988), and Watts (1978). Theories founded on place-name elements can suggest chronology, but absolute dating is more problematic, and this is where archaeological and historical evidence may be useful. A key objective therefore is to consider whether a chronology can be established for Bernicia, anchoring it into particular centuries.

In this study I have assembled a corpus of early or at least potentially early Anglian and pre-English place-names for the study area, which is defined as the pre-1974 counties of Northumberland, Durham, Berwickshire, Roxburghshire, Selkirkshire, Peeblesshire, and East and Mid Lothian. West Lothian is excluded because of the scarcity of modern studies of early Anglian place-names.

Methodological Issues

The underlying methodology for the study of place-names is generally accepted to be a philological one based mainly on written evidence, where early spellings of names are extracted from various sources (always including the earliest available), identified where possible with modern place-names, and interpreted on the basis of the history of the relevant languages and in the light of general knowledge of toponymic processes. Place-names are constructed through human activity, and although place-names change mainly due to spoken language change, these changes come down to us in written form as the only surviving evidence (Cameron 1996: 13, 19).

A modern spelling will not necessarily give the original spelling and meaning of the place-name; it can be misleading and unintelligible, and the meaning may have changed even if the modern form accurately reflects the original (Cameron 1996: 13). Language and speech patterns change, and therefore the spellings of words

constantly change (Hills 2003: 54). As a consequence it is usual to identify the earliest spellings of a place-name. Hence, the earliest records need to be traced and the various spellings of a place-name collected (Cameron 1996: 14, 19). For the study area, scholars such as Mawer (1920), Ekwall (1960), and Watts (2002, 2004) have thoroughly searched medieval documents, and in general seem to have found the earliest form of place-name spelling. By devising a methodology that minimizes the problems and maximizes the data that can be obtained, an analysis and interpretation of early Anglian and pre-English place-names is possible.

Identifying a Corpus of Potential Early Anglian and Pre-English Place-Names for Bernicia

Preliminary points:
1. 'Early' is defined here as between the fifth and seventh centuries.
2. The terms 'minor' and 'major' to describe place-names are defined by the status of the settlement they are associated with, the criteria for which is set out below in indicators of earliness.
3. All English place-names, whether linguistically Old English or pre-English/ Brittonic can be divided into three main groups: folk names representing tribes and their later territories, habitative names (incorporating a name for a settlement), and topographic names (relating to the physical setting) (Mills 1998: xix, xx; Gelling 1997: 118).
4. A specific is the first element in a place-name compound and may be a noun, descriptive adjective, river name, or tribal name. It usually defines or characterizes the second element, the generic. This normally is a common noun that refers to a natural feature or habitation.
5. Topographic elements as specifics are excluded from the analysis.

For this study I have identified potentially early Anglian and pre-English place-name elements from previous toponymic studies of areas other than Bernicia. Cox (1975) analysed all English place-name forms in authentic Old English documents to AD 731 (the presumed date of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*). He isolated the Old English elements that were important in the formation of English place-names during the period *c*. AD 400–700:

habitative: *burh*, *ceaster*, *hām*, *hām-stede*, *wic*
topographic: *burna*, *dūn*, *ēg*, *feld*, *ford*, *lēah*, and possibly *hamm*
district-name forming: *gē*
group-name-forming: *ingas* (*ingum* dative plural), *inga*

Copley (1988: 16) analysed the frequency of occurrence of place-name final elements with archaeological sites he believed to date to the fifth and sixth centuries AD and later. Copley (1988: 5) did not claim that these elements necessarily indicate early settlement, only that they occur in proximity to early sites and therefore may be coeval with them. He claimed that there was statistical evidence for a high incidence of habitative elements *hām*, *-inga-*, *ceaster*, *burh*, *tun*, and *ingtun* in earliest use (although *tun* and *ingtun* continued in use), and topographic elements *dūn*, *lēah* , *feld*, *wella*, *ēg*, *burna*, *ford*, and *hamm* occurring in relation to such sites. (It should be noted that Copley's methodology and the significance and accuracy of his results have been criticized by Gelling (1997: 254).)

Gelling first established her ideas in *The Place-Names of Berkshire* (1973–76), but she developed these further in subsequent works (e.g. Gelling and Cole 2000). In her 1973–76 work she based her arguments from archaeological sites (at least partially). She attempted to identify place-name types which may date from the first English settlement in the county and determine whether there was correspondence between early English archaeological material dated between *c*. 400 and *c*. 500 and place-name elements of early type (1976:, 812–14). Gelling found that topographic settlement names (highlighting those containing elements *ford*, *ēg*, and *hamm*) coincided to a greater degree with Anglo-Saxon settlement and burial evidence compared to habitative names containing *-ingas/-inga* and *hām*.

As they use different types of evidence, bringing these studies together and cross-referencing their results produces a more reliable corpus of elements than treating these merely as individual studies each with their own problems and limitations. These studies suggest that certain elements could be regarded as early, though the potential for regional variability in place-naming must not be ruled out. There is, however, a general consensus between these earlier studies that suggests that the following provisional corpus can be adopted for Bernicia (for more detailed meanings and analysis, see Wood 2007).

Habitative Elements:

hām 'village, homestead';

-ing(a)hâm 'village of the followers of X' or 'village of the people called after X';

-ingas 'the names of communities extending to the territory in which they lived or had some interest' (Dodgson 1966: 2);

ceaster, Anglo-Saxon word borrowed from the Latin *castrem* meaning 'camp, fort, walled town';

burh 'fortified place including hill forts, Roman stations, Anglo-Saxon fortifications, and medieval fortifications including castles, fortified towns and manor houses' (Parsons and Styles 2000: 74).

Topographic Elements:
burna 'a stream or watercourse smaller than a river';
dūn 'a settlement name for a low hill with a level summit providing a good settlement site in open country' (Gelling and Cole 2000: 164);
ēg 'island';
feld 'open country' including the meaning 'land without trees and possibly surrounded by (or on the edge of) woodland' (Gelling and Cole 2000: 219);
ford 'a crossing place on streams and rivers'.
(*Hamm* is excluded because of its potential confusion with habitative *hām*, and there is negligible evidence for these names in the study area. *Lēah* is excluded because although it can occur early, I interpret it as only becoming common as a late place-naming element).
District/tribal name: *gē*.

For Northumberland and Durham I have obtained the corpus of place-names for the study area (including both major and minor names) from the sources including Mawer (1920), Ekwall (1960), and Watts (2002; 2004). Additional sources for pre-English names include Ekwall (1924) and Coates and Breeze (2000). For south-east Scotland I have referred to authorities including Nicolaisen (2001), Williamson (1942), Watson (1926), and Fox (2007).

There are problems with this source material. Many sources are old and outdated, and others are unreliable (especially for pre-English names and for south-east Scotland generally). For this reason I have placed more reliance on the more recent scholarly work which has greater access to previous studies. To make this study more reliable I have only taken the medieval spellings of names as sources, with a termination date of AD 1500. To further narrow the field of study, the principal concern is with settlements. The place-names in the study area were surveyed to identify those with potentially early elements, and subsequently categorized 'certain or highly probable' or 'uncertain'.

A Geographical Information System (GIS) was then used to analyse these place-names. GIS mapping allows the distribution of place-names and their chronological relationships to be more accurately visualized and to inform regional studies.

Indicators of Earliness

One of my aims was to identify place-names that have a greater probability of being early in date, that is, the seventh century or earlier. The problem with potentially early Anglian place-name elements is that many continued in use beyond the early

Anglian period, remaining productive for several centuries, in particular topo-graphic elements such as *ford*, *burna*, and *feld*. It was therefore necessary to seek out indications (onomastic and non-onomastic) that particular place-names may belong to an early Anglian period. Although there are other indicators, among those commonly invoked are the following:

1. The higher the status of the settlement, the greater the probability it was established early and became the primary settlement in the area (Sorensen 1978: 18–19). This is indicated in the modern landscape if the place-name is a parish name, there is a church (especially a pre-Conquest church), and the settlement is of substantial size, not merely a hamlet (determined from nine-teenth-century Ordnance Survey maps).

2. Compounds with specifics that have indicators of earliness:

> a. Old English monothematic masculine personal names. These generally date before AD 700 (Kitson 2002: 96).
> b. Pre-English elements (Cox 1975: 62).
> c. Unexplained (obscure) elements and unrecorded personal names (Copley 1988: 13; Gelling and Cole 2000: 167).
> d. Other possibly early elements. Habitative generics may be compounded with specifics that are themselves possibly early elements, for example *burh* and *dūn*.

3. Linguistic earliness indicators. This involves different phases of sound development of a language as dating indicators for place-names (Sorensen 1978: 2–4). From the Old English language an example includes place-names that contain the inflectional *-n* on certain nouns, proper names, and adjectives.

4. Additional dating indicators of earliness include documentation. Some place-names in the study area appear in pre–AD 730 documents referred to by Cox (1975). Some elements clearly go out of fashion in the later Anglo-Saxon period and therefore reasonably can be regarded as early, for example *ēg* and *hām*.

In the following sections, I have referred to these as 'earliness indicators'.

Place-Names: Distribution, Chronology, and Potential Problems

Archaeologists, historians, and place-name experts have highlighted the limitations of place-name evidence, particularly regarding chronology, dating and distribution, and problems with its analysis and interpretation. These are identified and dis-cussed here. With regard to Bernicia in particular, there are problems with the late recording of place-names, as there are few early documents. Consequently, the

interpretation of place-names is uncertain and as Higham points out (1993: 71), it is difficult to write an Anglo-Saxon settlement history from place-names for the fifth, sixth, and into the seventh centuries.

Distribution evidence consists of the location of a place-name or groups of place-names, their distribution in the landscape, and their relationship with other features in that landscape, such as archaeological sites. The accuracy of place-name distribution can be called into question because place-name survival is only fragmentary and only partially represents the place-name situation in the early Anglian period. Place-names were frequently changed and replaced after the early eighth century. Also, as it is only from the late Anglo-Saxon period that there were nucleated settlements, there is an issue of movement of settlements. This leads to concerns that place-names cannot be correlated to specific settlement locations, only to a general area. This is to some extent alleviated in my study because it is concerned with broad regional distribution patterns in Bernicia, where precise location of settlements is not important. Although many settlements may have been abandoned or moved, and many place-names lost or changed, a remnant survives that can be identified and of which the distributions can be interpreted.

There is a widely recognized problem in determining an absolute chronology for Old English place-names and of establishing even approximately at what point in the Anglo-Saxon period place-names were coined. This is partly due to a long transition for the change to English place-names, from the late fourth century to the ninth century (Gelling 1993: 53–55). There is no real evidence proving that English place-names actually belong to the fifth century rather than later when Old English was becoming more widely assimilated by the British population. This problem applies to the study of place-names in Bernicia and elsewhere. To some extent this can be alleviated by identifying 'earliness indicators', but even with this methodology, only a broad chronological and dating sequence can be determined for the Anglian place-name evidence in Bernicia.

Theories founded on place-name elements suggest a possible chronology. Distribution studies of south-east England, the Midlands, and East Anglia by Dodgson (1966), Cox (1973), and Kuurman (1974) established a chronological order for Old English habitative elements *hām*, *-ing(a)hām*, and *-ingas* (but cf. Copley 1988: 13).

Hām is believed to be the earliest element and was generally in use as a place-naming element from the fifth century until the mid-seventh century.

-Ing(a)hām is thought to have been in use later than *hām*, although, as *-ing(a)hām* generally dates to the seventh century (and possibly also sixth), they could be contemporaneous. However, these names are especially difficult to analyse

because the identity of the *-ing-* syllable is not certain. It is not possible to be absolutely sure from many of the northern spellings whether *-ing(a)hām* names in fact contain *-inga-*, genitive plural of *-ingas*. There is therefore ambiguity in defining what constitutes an *-ing(a)hām* name. The OE suffix *-ing* is exceptionally problematic, with four applications, each reflecting distinct historical origins. Given the uncertainties surrounding these names the only pragmatic course is to group them collectively, but overall this does not undermine their usefulness as potentially 'early' names since the generic is *-hām* whatever the identity of the *-ing* syllable. Although it cannot be certain that *-ing(a)hām* names are early, evidence does suggest that the toponymic structure is in use soon after *-hām* (Cox 1975: 65), and the frequency of the monothematic personal names as their specific is another indicator of earliness.

-Ingas place-names seem to come into vogue in the seventh and early eighth centuries, but in the study area they are of minor importance because there are only a small number of uncertain examples. There is nevertheless considerable chronological overlap between *-hām*, *-ing(a)hām*, and *-ingas*. These elements may all have been in contemporaneous use in the seventh century and possibly also in the sixth century.

The other habitative elements *burh* and *ceaster* continued in use into the post-Conquest period. *Ceaster* may potentially indicate a very early place-name, and particularly in Northumberland could refer to the sites of both Roman and British fortifications (Smith 1956: 33; Cox 1980: 36; Gelling 1997: 152). *Burh* was in early use as a place-naming element in the fifth and sixth centuries, but was more common in the seventh and eighth centuries. (It seems to have replaced earlier elements in place-names such as Canterbury and Glastonbury.) Earliness indicators may suggest place-names that can be dated to the seventh century. It is associated with landscape features such as hills and prehistoric, Roman, and Anglo-Saxon defended centres (Cox 1980: 36, 41–42; Copley 1988: 67; Gelling 1997: 142–45; Parsons and Styles 2000: 74–79).

Earlier scholars such as Stenton (1911; 1943) had considered that topographic place-name elements were not from the early Anglo-Saxon period but instead were later in origin and therefore of no importance (Gelling 1984: 1–2). In the 1960s and 1970s this position was revised. Margaret Gelling argued that topographic elements are contained in the earliest Anglian place-names and probably represent a very early stage of settlement (1976: 819). This followed Dodgson's suggestion that ordinary nature names, for example, *burna*, *lēah*, and *feld*, come first (1966: 5). Other scholars have subsequently supported Gelling, including Cox (1975; 1980) and Copley (1988). Gelling's position is distinctive because she emphasizes

that topographic names as a group were generally earlier than habitative names and claims that there were country-wide patterns of topographic place-naming (Gelling and Cole 2000: xv). Although there was some regional variation in linguistic and toponymic usage, most variation in the distribution of place-name elements reflects the diverse geography. She observes that at no later period were topographic preoccupations of such immediate concern to the Anglo-Saxons (Gelling and Cole 2000: xix). According to Gelling, the importance placed by early Anglo-Saxons on topography is demonstrated by the variety of words in the OE language for topographic features, for example the different terms for hill with different features: *hyll*, *dūn*, *beorg*, etc (Gelling and Cole 2000: xiii, xv). She reinforced and developed this position in subsequent works (Gelling 1979; 1988; 1984; Gelling and Cole 2000 refines the detail of Gelling 1984, but both books emphasize the importance and potential earliness of topographic settlement names).

As mentioned above, many topographic place-naming elements continued in use, and therefore in the case of *ford*, *feld*, and *burna*, earliness indicators are required. In contrast, *ēg* is thought to go out of use at an early date and was largely in use earlier than the seventh century (Cox 1975: 59). *Dūn*, according to Gelling, was in use from the beginning of the Anglo-Saxon period into the eighth century but was not commonly used after AD 800 (Gelling and Cole 2000: 164). Earliness indicators may identify *dūn* names that were coined in the seventh century or earlier. Gelling also suggested that an additional indicator of earliness is the presence of dominant topographic themes in place-names in areas where there are early Anglo-Saxon settlements and burials. Therefore, a concentration of homogeneous topographic settlement names showing concern with a particular aspect of terrain is more typical of an area of exceptionally early English settlement (1976: 821).

A tentative chronology for Anglian place-names in Bernicia can therefore be proposed. Whilst it is not possible to date place-names to the fifth century, it may be possible to distinguish an early stratum of sixth- and seventh-century place-names from a later stratum of names that date to the eighth century or later. This early stratum includes most importantly the corpus of topographic names defined above, provided they have earliness indicators, and habitative names such as *-ing(a)hām* and earliness-indicated *ceaster*. There is also a chronological overlap where some place-names (labelled 'second phase' names) may date to the seventh or eighth centuries and therefore occupy either strata. This includes *-ingas* names, and *burh* names that have earliness indicators. It may also be possible (although this is more speculative) to identify a stratum of place-names that can be dated to the first half of the seventh century or earlier. This may include *-hām* names, those *-ing(a)hām* names that can be linguistically dated to this earlier period, and *ēg* names with earliness indicators.

Before proceeding to synthesize the evidence it is important to make clear that all my conclusions are necessarily tentative and provisional. It must also be clearly stated that my emphasis is on the study of the place-names, with some consideration of the material evidence.

Interpretation of the Early Anglian Evidence

Rather than using modern administrative boundaries such as counties, I have focussed my analysis on major river catchments such as the Rivers Tees, Tyne, Wear, and Tweed, and other topographic regions. For ease of description the river valleys are categorized as upper, middle, lower, and coastal (see Map 3).

In this chapter two types of material evidence are compared to the place-name evidence: (1) early Anglian archaeological evidence, and (2) Anglian church evidence (see Map 4). I have distinguished certain and uncertain place-names and those with earliness indicators. Also shown is the distribution of early Anglian material evidence.

There are environmental factors such as soil quality that may have influenced the distribution and chronology of place-names, and therefore the interpretation of this evidence. These are hard to assess for the Anglo-Saxon period because today's classifications rely on the evidence of modern soils, not medieval ones. Although these factors are not considered in detail here, they are highlighted where they may be especially significant.

The Early Anglian Place-Name Evidence

Early Anglian place-names in the study area indicate the presence of English language speakers and their extent and influence. Concentrations of these names may indicate areas with a strong early Anglian presence, and their absence or scarcity may indicate that an Anglian presence was insignificant. I interpret the place-name evidence in this way so as not to equate it to early Anglian settlement by ethnic Angles, or alternatively to ethnic native British who have adopted the cultural identity of the Angles, including using their language. As pointed out above, there is a continuing debate as to what place-names actually show, therefore I shall assume here that they indicate the presence of early English language speakers, whether or not ethnic Angles or native British. Concentrations of potentially early Anglian place-names (those classified as probably seventh century or earlier) are located in the following areas (see Table 2).

Map 3. The study area and major topographic features.

Map 4. The spatial distribution and different chronological phases of Anglian place-naming.
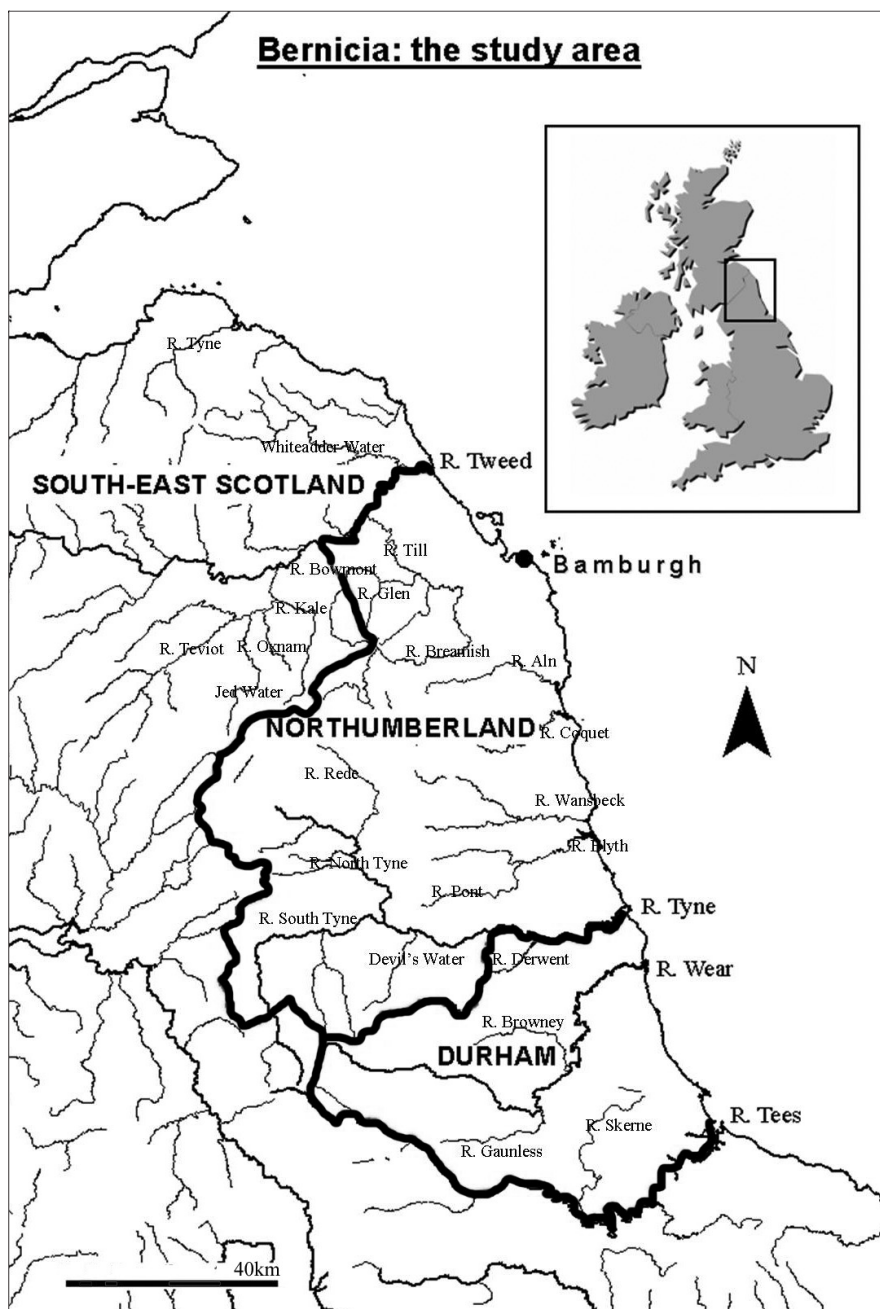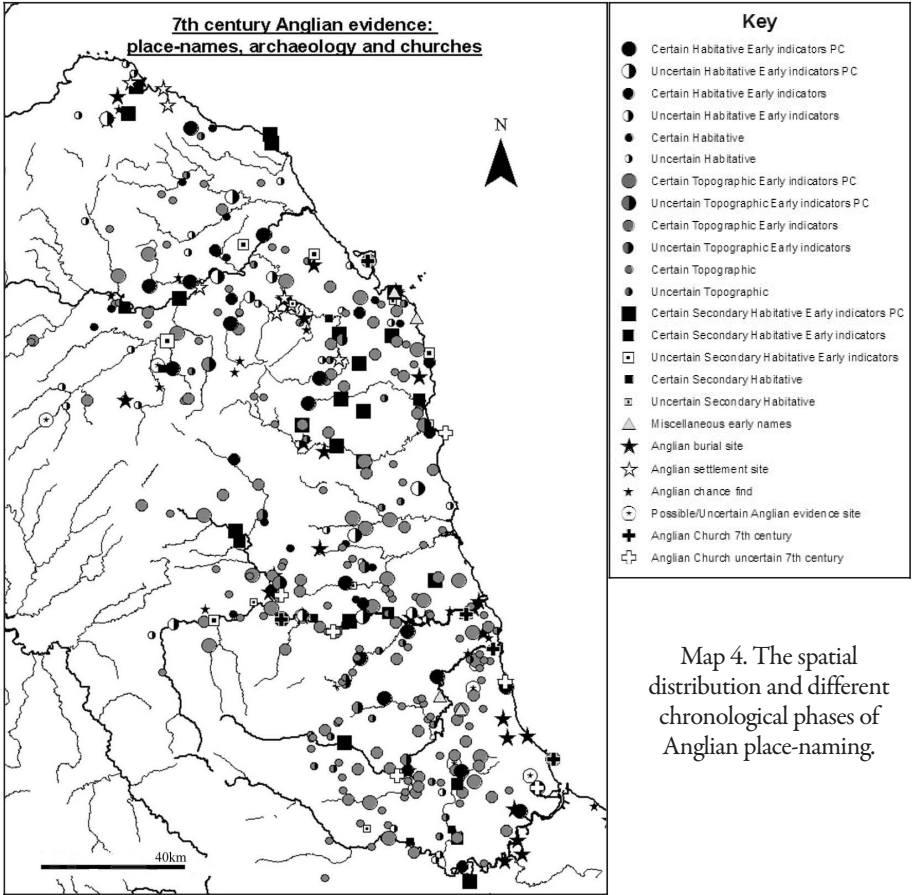
The largest concentrations of potentially early Anglian place-names with earliness indicators are located in (1) the mid-Tyne basin, (2) the coastal lands in the vicinity of Bamburgh, and (3) the mid-Tweed basin.

The areas where potentially early Anglian place-names are scarce or absent are (1) the south-east Durham coastal lands (rather than directly on the coastline, see (1) (i) in Table 2), (2) the upper Tees valley, (3) the Washington and Gateshead areas, (4) the area west of Chester-le-Street and the River Wear, (5) south Northumberland west of the Devil's Causeway Roman road, (6) the upper South Tyne valley, (7) south Northumberland west of the Devil's Causeway Roman road, (8) the coastal lands and lower valley areas from the Tyne north to the Coquet, (9) the lower and coastal Aln valley, (10) the coastal lands north of Bamburgh, (11) the lower and coastal Tweed basin, (12) the upper Tweed basin, and (13) mid-Lothian.

Table 2. Areas with concentrations of potentially early Anglian place-names.

1) The Tees catchment area	i) The coastline and Tees estuary.
	ii) The Skerne valley.
	iii) The mid-Tees valley in the vicinity of Gainford.
2) The Wear catchment area	i) The mid-Wear valley in the vicinity of Durham City, the River Browney tributary, and Auckland.
	ii) The coastal land north and south of the Wear.
	iii) The upper Wear valley (although see below).
3) The Tyne catchment area	i) The coastal land south of the Tyne.
	ii) The Derwent and lower Tyne valleys.
	iii) The mid-Tyne area in the vicinity of Corbridge and Hexham (including the lower North and South Tyne valleys).
	iv) The upper North Tyne valley and Redesdale.
4) The Northumberland river catchment areas	i) The mid-Blyth and Pont valleys.
	ii) The mid-Wansbeck valley.
	iii) The Breamish and upper and mid-Aln valleys.
	iv) The coastal lands in the vicinity of Bamburgh.
	v) A cluster around the mouth of the River Coquet.
5) The Tweed catchment area	i) The mid-Tweed valley.
	ii) The Bowmont, Kale, and Oxnam tributary valleys.
6) East Lothian	i) The eastern coastal land.
	ii) The Tyne and Peffer valleys.

There are areas where place-names indicate a later seventh-century secondary phase Anglian presence. These include the upper Wear valley where the scarcity of earliness indicators for early Anglian topographic names and the *-ing(a)hām* name Wolsingham may indicate a later Anglian presence. A similar suggestion may apply to the upper North Tyne and Redesdale valleys, although here some names have earliness indicators (also there are early *-ing(a)hām* names nearby in the mid–North Tyne area, and uncertain Risingham in Redesdale). Other areas that contain *-ing(a)hām* names, such as in East Lothian, Coldingham on the coast of the Tweed basin, and in the mid-Aln valley area of Northumberland, are discussed below. However, it may be that the place-names in these areas indicate that the initial Anglian presence was not very early (by Bernician standards), that is, not before the seventh century. They may also indicate a process of Anglian colonization of areas

that in many cases (at least in Northumberland and Durham) seem to have been heavily wooded. This is suggested from the distribution of place-names with elements that may indicate the proximity of woodland. These include *feld*, which (with earliness indicators) may indicate woodland in the seventh century, and *lēah* and possibly *worth*, although as they generally date from the eighth century, it should not be assumed that they indicate woodland in the early Anglian period. Also, in south-east Scotland there seems to be a link between *-ing(a)hām* names and the sites of early churches or monasteries.

The distributions of later Anglian place-names that contain the elements *ingtūn*, *tūn*, *wīc*, *bōtl*, *worth*, and *lēah* (generally dating from the eighth century onwards) have been analysed elsewhere and are not set out in Map 4. (See Wood 2007 for the meanings of these elements and for a more detailed analysis.) In many areas they complement concentrations of potentially early Anglian place-names, for example in the Tweed basin, the Coquet and Aln valleys, south-east Northumberland, and south-east Durham. Areas where these later names are concentrated but early names are scarce or absent may indicate that there was not a significant Anglian presence until at least the eighth century. There are, however, other areas where scarcity or absence of early and later place-names may indicate that an Anglian presence (at least linguistically) was never significant. Other areas with both phases of place-names may indicate the presence of major concentrations of English speakers, for example in the mid-valley areas of the Tees, Wear, Tyne, and Tweed.

This evidence seems to indicate that the major concentrations of the potentially earliest Anglian place-names are in the major river valley catchment areas, in the inland 'middle' valley zones. By comparison, these names are generally scarce in the lower or coastal zones. There are also significant numbers of these place-names in the upper Tyne and Wear valleys.

Comparing Early Anglian Material Evidence with Place-Name Evidence

The correlation of place-name evidence with archaeological sites is problematic for dating and distribution purposes. Dating evidence from an archaeological site cannot necessarily be used to date a place-name given to that site. Sorensen (1978, 16) was sceptical about dating name-types from the spatial relationship between names and datable archaeological finds. In Bernicia, however, this problem is alleviated because of the scarcity of these sites. Place-names located in the general proximity of the sites may therefore be of some distributive significance. Despite the problems in correlating this evidence, it is possible that dated archaeological

material can provide general dating evidence for a known Anglian presence in an area that can be compared to the place-name evidence. The two sets of evidence can therefore supplement each other, and when compared may highlight areas that have an early Anglian presence and provide broad chronological indicators.

I will outline the early Anglian archaeological evidence, beginning with the earliest sites (using dates based on material culture from these sites). 'Early Anglian' is defined as dating possibly to the seventh century or earlier (see Wood 2007 for full references and details).

Evidence that is dated to the fifth and sixth centuries is concentrated in County Durham. This includes chance finds at Cleadon, Hylton, Piercebridge, and Redcar, but also burial sites that are focused on or around the Tees basin, at Binchester, Castle Eden, Saltburn, Maltby, and Thornaby. In Northumberland there are chance finds in the Tyne valley along Hadrian's Wall at Wallsend, Benwell, and Corbridge (although in the case of Corbridge this may be burial evidence). The latter site may have the earliest Anglian evidence in Northumberland, possibly dating to the late fifth century. Unlike Durham (where there is no early Anglian settlement evidence at all), there is settlement evidence in north Northumberland at the sites of New Bewick in the Breamish valley and of Thirlings in the Milfield basin. There is also evidence in south-east Scotland: a burial at Blackness in West Lothian, chance finds from Traprain Law, and most significantly, sixth-century settlement evidence at Dunbar.

Evidence that is dated to the late sixth or early seventh century (and therefore may overlap chronologically with the above evidence) is located across the study area. There is substantial burial evidence from cemeteries in the Tees basin in Durham at Darlington, Easington, and most significantly (in terms of numbers of burials), Norton. In north Northumberland there are the cemeteries at Milfield north and Bamburgh, while in the Tyne valley there is the burial at Barrasford and chance finds from Chesterholm and Whitehill Point. In south-east Scotland there is settlement evidence at Ratho and a burial at nearby Hound point, Dalmeny. There is further settlement evidence at Spouston and a chance find at Chapel Haugh, both in the Tweed basin.

Some evidence can only be dated generally to the sixth or seventh centuries. In Northumberland this includes the important settlement and burial site at Yeavering and the chance find from Newcastle-upon-Tyne. A large proportion of the evidence from south-east Scotland falls into this category, in the Tweed basin tributaries at Crook Cleugh, Morebattle, and at Stichill, Roxburgh, where there are chance finds, and in East Lothian at Doon Hill and Whitekirk where there is settlement evidence.

There is a scarcity of evidence in County Durham that is dated clearly to the seventh century. There is only the burial at East Boldon, although there is also a cemetery at Seaham that is dated to between the late seventh and ninth centuries and chance finds from South Shields Roman fort that are of uncertain date but no earlier than the seventh century. In contrast there a number of sites in North-umberland that are dated to the seventh century: the settlement evidence from Bamburgh castle, burials at Hepple in the upper Coquet valley, and particularly in the Tyne valley, the burial at Capheaton, the possible burial at Benwell, and a chance find from Chesters Roman fort. In the Milfield basin there is also set-tlement evidence (Milfield) and burial evidence (Milfield south) that is dated to between the late seventh and eighth centuries. In south-east Scotland there is seventh-century evidence in East Lothian (a chance find from Markle and burials at Morham) and in the West Lothian area including a chance find from Wester Craigie and a possible example at Ratho.

There is also a body of evidence that is categorized as early Anglian but can only be dated to between the fifth and seventh centuries. This includes burials at Galewood, Howick, and Lowick, a chance find at Humbleton in north Northum-berland, and burials at Great Tosson in the Coquet valley. In Durham there are burials at Blackhall Rocks and Copt Hill and chance finds from Sunderland and Yarm. South-east Scotland has the chance find from Bonchester.

This analysis establishes a broad correlation between early Anglian archaeolog-ical and place-name evidence in the study area. Areas that contain fifth- to seventh-century Anglian archaeological evidence generally correspond to concentrations of early Anglian place-names. The most obvious examples are the Skerne valley, the north-east Durham coast lands around Wearmouth, the mid-Wear valley around Auckland and Binchester, the mid-Tyne and North Tyne valleys, the Breamish and upper Aln valleys south of New Bewick, the Bamburgh coast lands, the mid-Tweed valley, and East Lothian. This may indicate a strong early Anglian presence.

To illustrate this I will look at some specific examples in more detail. In coastal north Northumberland the Anglian archaeological evidence at Bamburgh dates from the later sixth century (the cemetery continued in use into the eighth cen-tury). This correlates with the concentration of possible early Anglian place-names in the coastal area (including *hām*, *-ing(a)hām*, *ceaster*, and early topographic names). They support the idea of an Anglian presence from the later sixth century.

In the middle Tyne basin the archaeological and place-name evidence both indicate an early Anglian presence centred around Hexham, Corbridge, and the lower North Tyne valley. Barrasford (Meaney 1964: 198), an early indicated *ford* name, correlates with the sixth- to seventh-century Anglian burial there. The

possible early topographic names correlate with the seventh-century evidence from Chesters (Miket 1978: 177–79). There is also a concentration of early names around Corbridge which has possibly late fifth- or early sixth-century archaeological evidence (Meaney 1964: 198; Miket 1980: 293). In contrast, in the vicinity of the seventh-century burial at Capheaton (Cowen 1931) there are few early Anglian names and instead *tūn* and *ingtūn* dominate.

The upper Tweed basin, the lower and coastal Aln valley, and south-east Northumberland provide examples of another type of correlation where both early Anglian archaeological and place-name evidence are scarce or absent.

The correlations (or lack of them) may be influenced by factors such as territorial boundaries. These can influence the distribution of burials and place-names at the peripheries of territories. A possible example is the late sixth- or early seventh-century cemetery at Darlington, which may, from the place-name evidence, be located between two areas: one to the west and north-west with a Brittonic linguistic presence, and the other to the north and south-east with an early Anglian presence.

A further source of material evidence is early Anglian churches. A survey of possible seventh-century churches in Northumberland and Durham using Cramp's *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture in England* (1984) indicates that generally there is a correlation between these sites and the areas that contain concentrations of potentially early Anglian place-names. Seventh-century Jarrow and Monkwearmouth correlate with the north-east Durham coastal area, Escomb with the mid-Wear/Auckland area, Hartlepool (and possibly seventh-century Greatham and Seaham) with the scattered early names along the Durham coast, Hexham (and possibly seventh-century Bywell St Peter and St Oswald's Lee) with the mid-Tyne area, and Lindisfarne with the Bamburgh coastal area, and the possibly seventh-century church on Coquet Island may correlate with the Coquetmouth cluster. The distribution of churches in the eighth century (not shown on Map 4) appears to reinforce this correlation.

There are a number of narratives by earlier scholars that interpret the Anglian presence in Bernicia in terms of settlement and movement of people (see Wood 2007). One key narrative theme concerns suggestions for the core areas or heartlands of early Anglian settlement in Bernicia, such as the Bamburgh coastal lands, Milfield basin, Tweed basin, Tyne valley, south Northumberland and north Durham lowlands, and Tees valley.

The concentrations of early Anglian place-name, archaeological, and church evidence considered above indicate early Anglian linguistic and cultural core areas that can be dated (linguistically and typologically) to the seventh century, or

possibly even earlier. This evidence may also indicate primary early Anglian economic and political centres. The key areas are the mid-Tweed valley, the Bamburgh coast lands, the mid-Tyne valley, the north-east Durham coast lands, the mid-Wear valley, and the Skerne area of the Tees valley.

Other areas with evidence mostly consisting of place-names are the upper Aln and Breamish valleys (although there is the archaeological site of New Bewick here), the mid-Wansbeck and upper Blyth valleys, the Coquetmouth, the mid-Tees area around Gainford, the south-east Durham coast, and the Tees estuary.

East Lothian is also a possibility, but it is not categorized as an early Anglian core area because, for reasons discussed below, the evidence could equally be interpreted as dating to the mid- or late seventh century.

The place-name evidence is not chronologically precise enough to indicate whether there was an Anglian presence in County Durham earlier than that in Northumberland and south-east Scotland. It only indicates that across the study area there are concentrations of Anglian place-names that may date to the seventh century or earlier, with no southern bias towards the chronologically earliest. There are some differences in place-names, such as in the numbers of early Anglian habitative names, the status of *ceaster* names in Durham, and the numbers and status of pre-English names, but topographic names are comparatively similar in Durham and Northumberland (except for more *feld* names in Durham and more *ēg* names in Northumberland). There are far fewer early topographic names in south-east Scotland. In contrast, archaeological evidence indicates an Anglian presence dating between the fifth and sixth centuries in Durham and the Tyne valley, while further north in Northumberland the date range at most sites is between the late sixth and seventh centuries. In the Tweed valley and further north the date range is similar to Northumberland but more inclined towards the seventh century. But the idea that there was a northward Anglian movement oversimplifies the early Anglian presence in Bernicia. A dominant characteristic of the distribution of the linguistic and cultural evidence is that it is centred on major river valleys and particularly mid-valley areas well inland. The most extensive good soil and agricultural areas are centred on these major river valleys, and this may be an influencing factor. There is also a correlation between the early Anglian evidence in the mid-valley areas and some Roman roads such as Dere Street and the Devil's Causeway, hinting at the continued use of these roads or routeways.

The early Anglian toponymic and cultural evidence is not widespread in coastal areas in comparison to the inland areas, and although there are exceptions, it is generally limited to certain defined locations scattered along the coast of East Lothian, at Coquet mouth, and on the south-east Durham coast. The only areas

where a more extensive early Anglian presence is indicated is the Bamburgh coast lands and around Wearmouth. The overall impression is that the major Anglian presence in the early seventh century (and possibly late sixth century) was not primarily focused on the coastal areas, and the place-name evidence suggests that it was not until the eighth century that there was a significant Anglian presence (at least linguistically) in these areas. This does not mean, as some earlier scholars have suggested, that the early Anglian presence consisted of isolated pirate bands living in coastal strongholds. There is, however, some support for a narrative that suggests the earliest Anglian linguistic and cultural presence focused on inland areas, and that in coastal areas this was limited to settlements in isolated communities, with the exception of the areas around Bamburgh and possibly Wearmouth.

Interpretion of the Brittonic Evidence (Map 5)

Pre-English Place-Name Evidence

There is a debate about what pre-English place-names may show, particularly when their distribution is compared with that of possible early Anglian place-names. Although broad patterns emerge from this comparison it cannot be certain that they indicate the survival and continuity of an ethnic Brittonic population at the places associated with these pre-English names. It is perhaps more appropriate to say that they indicate the survival of Brittonic language speakers and that the inhabitants of that area were bilingual in Brittonic and Old English. Pre-English place-names may also indicate that the Brittonic language continued long enough for some names to be adopted by Angles or their political elite when naming places.

Map 5 distinguishes between certain and uncertain pre-English place-names. Additionally, the status of a settlement associated with a place-name has been analysed by adopting the same criteria used for early Anglian names. I have not taken this as an indicator of earliness, however, but as an indicator of an increased probability that there was Brittonic linguistic continuity well into the Anglian period. In fact, most pre-English names are of minor status except in south-east Scotland.

In addition to full pre-English place-names where both elements in the compound are Brittonic, there are also hybrid place-names that comprise words of different linguistic origin coined, presumably, in a bilingual context. These compounds consist of a Brittonic and an Old English element, and may indicate an interaction between Brittonic and English speakers. There are areas that contain hybrids and full pre-English and early Anglian names. This may indicate that there was an early

Map 5. The distributions of pre-English place-names and also Brittonic material evidence.
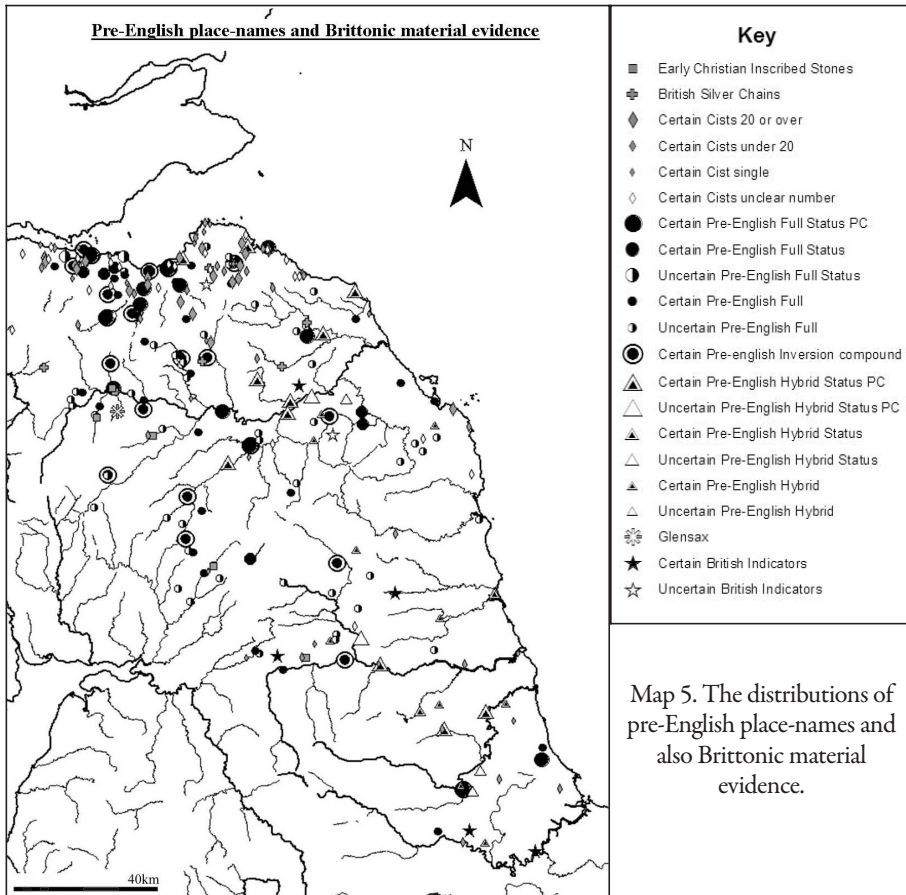
Anglian presence but also interaction with Brittonic language speakers. One noticeable feature is that a large proportion of hybrids are associated with places of high status, although it is unclear what this may mean. Examples of these hybrid areas are East Lothian, the mid-Tweed basin, and the Bowmont, South Tyne, and Redesdale valleys. Major river names nationally are Brittonic, but Bernicia has a relatively high density. According to Jackson's map (1953: 220), English counties are in three areas or zones. Bernicia is in Area II, that is, a greater density than elsewhere in eastern England. There are not only major rivers but relatively minor streams that have Brittonic names (in eastern England such streams usually have English names), so in Bernicia they could signify a residual Brittonic presence in certain areas.

Linguistic indicators in rivers and place-names indicate survival of Brittonic as a living language relatively late. Watts gives the examples of Dearness and the

Devil's Water, which he interpreted as borrowed into English in the early to mid-seventh century (1979: 122). The Long Nanny south of Bamburgh contains a sound change dated to *c.* AD 800 where the *-nn* was assimilated from the original *-nt* (Jackson 1953: 505–06) and is also a name borrowed after the English *i*-mutation sound change that occurred *c.* AD 700 (Watts 1976: 123).

Inversion compounds contain a reverse word order of elements, with the generic as the first element and the qualifying element second. This characteristically Celtic type of place-naming only appeared in Brittonic from the sixth century onwards. Place-names with this late ordering of elements could therefore indicate Brittonic language survival after this date (Gelling 1997: 99–100; Smith 1983: 39–40). Most are found in Lothian and the Tweed basin, but there are examples in the western Tyne basin at Glendue and Troughend, and in County Durham at Auckland. Certain compounds are also useful for chronological purposes and may indicate late survival of Brittonic language-speakers. Some pre-English hybrids are compounded with later Old English elements that came into onomastic use generally from the eighth century: with OE *tūn*, Cockerton and possibly Branxton, and with OE *wīc*, Carrick. The possible OE *w(e)alh* names Wallington (OE compound dating to the eighth century) and Walworth (OE *worth* compound dating from the eighth century) may also indicate a Brittonic presence at least to the eighth century (the original meaning of *w(e)alh* is 'Briton or Britons', but is later associated with serfdom and slavery: Higham 1992: 193).

Significant areas where pre-English place-names are concentrated are south-west Durham, north-west Durham, South Tyne valley, Northumberland west of the Devil's Causeway, upper North Tyne valley and Annandale, coastal Northumberland north of Bamburgh, the Chatton Hills area of Northumberland, the Milfield and Till basin, the Bowmont and Kale valleys, the mid-Tweed valley, and East Lothian. There are large concentrations in the Lothian area and upper Tweed valley including the Teviot tributary. The majority of pre-English names are distributed in the western zone of the study area, but there are notable exceptions in the coastal area of north Northumberland and the Eden area of south-east Durham. This pre-English distribution generally complements the distribution of early Anglian place-names. Full pre-English names and inversion compounds are concentrated in this western zone. To the east there are generally hybrid zones of interaction, for example, the mid-Tweed valley. Further east in coastal areas pre-English names are generally absent. The areas with pre-English names, hybrids, and possible *walh* names may indicate linguistic boundaries and zones of transition between English and Brittonic language speakers. One example may be the area around Wallington and the Devil's Causeway, between pre-English place-names to the west and concentrations of possible early Anglian names to the east.

Brittonic Material Evidence

The material evidence that is considered consists of early Christian inscribed stones, long cist burials, and silver chains. The distribution of this evidence, including areas of concentration or absence, and interpretations of this evidence by archaeologists are discussed.

Early Christian Inscribed Stones

The seven known British post-Roman memorial stones use a script of Roman capitals in Latin, and from the inscriptions are regarded as Christian (Thomas 1991–92: 1, 7–8). Thomas suggested that they date between AD 500 and 600 except for the Brigomaglos stone which he believed dates to the late fifth century. The Coninie stone was dated from the cross in the inscription more precisely to the late sixth century (Thomas 1971: 108). According to Thomas (1971: 8–9) their distribution indicates that Peebles was a post-Roman centre of power. Although Dark (2000: 202) suggests that they indicate Votadinian territory, their distribution appears to be further west. They do indicate that the middle Tweed valley was an area under post-Roman Christian British control in the fifth to sixth centuries.

Long Cist Burials

Characteristically, long cists are graves with stone linings, with the sides usually consisting of several stone slabs (and sometimes a slab lid across the top) (Alcock 1992: 125). Other characteristics include extended inhumation, absence of grave goods, an association with orthostats, and alignment of the graves in rows with the head to the west or south-west (Alcock 1992: 125; Hope-Taylor 1977: 252). It has been suggested that this is a native British burial tradition in northern England, particularly the Borders and southern Scotland, despite some burials that contain Anglian grave goods (Dark and Dark 1996: 58; Thomas 1981: 235; Miket 1980: 299–300).

Long cists are concentrated around the Forth, especially in the Lothian and North Berwick area, and extend south to the Lammermuirs (Hope-Taylor 1977: 254; Alcock 1992: 125). Hope-Taylor (1977: 257) maintained that there were few examples south of this, except for a few isolated long cists. However the cemetery at Bamburgh contains a large number of long cists (Bamburgh Research Project pers. comm.), and there are other possibilities (see Map 5). According to Dark (2000: 203) extended inhumations in long cists are a characteristic of British Gododdin or Votadinian territory and may indicate the extent of this territory.

Long cists seem to have remained a characteristic of burials in Anglian Bernicia, with examples containing Anglian grave goods at Bamburgh, possibly at Howick, Great Tosson, Cornforth, East Boldon, Castle Eden, Blackhall Rocks, and Brierton, and others in south-east Scotland. According to Dark, single long cists were often located on boundaries for political and symbolic reasons, although the examples from Hadrian's Wall and the Roman forts that he regarded as fifth- to sixth-century Christian graves may instead represent a late Roman tradition (Dark 1992: 115; Crow and Jackson 1997: 67).

The distribution of long cist burials shown in Map 5 is based on various sources (including Henshall 1955–56; Hope-Taylor 1977; Alcock 1992; and Proudfoot and Aliaga-Kelly 1997). They are categorized by taking into account the number of graves (where known) and whether they are certain or uncertain cist graves. Problems with dating cist burials means that I have not distinguished Roman and post-Roman graves unless there is clear evidence.

Silver Chains

There are eight examples of silver chains known from the study area (Breeze 1998: 482). They are large double-linked chains with terminal rings of unknown though probably ornamental or decorative function and worn around the neck. They were made from late Roman silver, and are of post-Roman date. Thomas (1981: 289) suggested that most were located in Votadinian territory and that this indicates a connection with (and production by) the British of the kingdom of Gododdin. They indicate a wealthy aristocracy with access to large quantities of scrap Roman silver, such as that found at Traprain Law (Cessford 1999: 153–54; Hope-Taylor 1977: 255, 288; Thomas 1981: 289).

The distribution of Brittonic material evidence in Map 5 shows that although this is concentrated in the Lothian and upper Tweed areas, there are clusters scattered across other areas such as the Chatton Hills, Bamburgh coastal lands, the mid- and upper Tyne valleys, and the Eden valley (although these clusters are concentrated in areas to the north and west).

Comparing Brittonic Material Evidence with Pre-English Place-Names

Comparing the distributions of pre-English place-name and Brittonic material evidence may indicate areas where there was linguistic and cultural continuity. There is a strong correlation between the distributions of Brittonic material evidence and pre-English place-names. The uneven distribution of the Brittonic

evidence (both place-names and material culture) indicates that any Brittonic survival and continuity was restricted to certain areas rather than being widespread across Bernicia. The major areas of Brittonic cultural and linguistic survival that are indicated are the Lothians and the upper Tweed basin. Other areas of significance appear to be the mid-Tweed valley and tributaries, areas of north Northumberland (including the Milfield and Till basin, Islandshire, the Chatton Hills, and coastal Bamburghshire), western Northumberland (including the North and South Tyne valleys, Redesdale, and west of the Devil's Causeway), and north and south-western Durham. Elsewhere, Brittonic evidence is scarce and widely scattered, consisting of single place-names and occasional cist burial sites.

In Northumberland and Durham, the Brittonic place-name and pre-English material evidence are distributed in many cases in poor soil and land areas, for example the Chatton Hills, west of the Devil's Causeway, north-west Durham, and the upper Teviot valley. However there are exceptions where Brittonic evidence correlates with good soil and land areas, for example the Milfield and Till basin, the mid-Tweed basin, and the mid-Wear and Tees valleys of south-west Durham. Brittonic linguistic, cultural, or political survival seems to be indicated in peripheral areas where there are topographic and landscape barriers. Brittonic evidence is generally concentrated in western hill areas and sometimes in wooded areas (indicated by Old English place-names in *-lēah*, *-worth*, and *-feld*) such as in north-west Durham and south-west Northumberland. This distribution pattern may also be influenced by, and indeed reflect, territorial organization and boundaries.

The Anglian–Brittonic Interaction

In this section I compare the early Anglian and Brittonic evidence. The underlying theme is the relationship between 'Anglian' and 'Brittonic' elements of Bernician society and culture. This 'amalgam' of Angles and British is investigated by comparing the evidence patterns from the distribution and chronology of the place-name and material evidence. I will look at specific regions within Bernicia, concentrating on river valley systems and areas within these systems.

An Anglian-Brittonic hybrid society and culture is one of the dominant narrative themes for the origins of Bernicia, put forward by scholars including Hodgkin (1935), Hunter-Blair (1947), and Hope-Taylor (1977), and most recently by various contributors to Paul Frodsham and Colm O'Brien's book *Yeavering: People, Power and Place* (2005).

This narrative is a generalization that is not supported by the variation in evidence across the study area. There are areas with different evidential characteristics,

with different place-name profiles and correlations to material evidence. This indicates different processes of 'Anglian–Brittonic interaction' across the study area and suggests that, rather than one generalized narrative, we need a number of fragmented narratives for the different areas and regions in Bernicia. Previous histories of this interaction tend to emphasize some form of native Brittonic continuity and include those that emphasize the 'Anglian element', those in which Bernician society consisted of a small Anglian elite that dominated a large Brittonic peasant population, and those that emphasize Brittonic elite continuity and either large numbers of Anglian peasant farmers or Anglian mercenaries or federates.

There are areas such as the mid-Tweed basin, the Bowmont valley, East Lothian, and the South Tyne valley where there is good evidence for hybridization. These are the areas that contain hybrid pre-English and early Anglian place-names and Brittonic and early Anglian archaeological evidence. They indicate Brittonic linguistic and cultural survival, although not necessarily population and administrative continuity, in areas where there is also evidence for an early Anglian presence. Less persuasive evidence, though still significant (where one or more of the above categories of evidence is missing), is found in other areas such as the North Tyne valley and north-west Durham. Other areas, as discussed above, may contain only concentrations of either early Anglian or Brittonic evidence, and therefore different explanatory narratives are needed. There are also areas that contain Brittonic and early Anglian evidence, but where the relationship between the different evidence types is difficult to reconcile and interpret, for example the Milfield and Till basin, Bamburgh coastal lands, and south-east Durham. In these circumstances, although I would suggest there was some form of hybridization, the evidence indicates that different processes of interaction were involved.

The evidence therefore tends to support the idea suggested by Higham (1993: 82) that Bernicia was made up from several minor kingdoms or territories by the late sixth and early seventh centuries, and this may also be reflected in territorial and estate organization. Although some studies have contrasted Northumberland and Durham (Loveluck 2002: 133), the evidence I have considered suggests that there are greater differences between other areas and regions, for example, the Bamburgh coastal lands and the Milfield and Till basin. It should be pointed out that although the counties of Northumberland and Durham have pre-Conquest origins, it should not be assumed that this county structure can be projected back to the sixth and seventh centuries. The same point can also be made regarding the (many) previous narratives that assume a distinction between south-east Scotland and the English counties.

The Tees Valley

My study shows that in the coastal lands of south-east Durham there is a lack of correlation between early Anglian place-name and archaeological evidence. The areas that contain early Anglian material culture do not contain early Anglian place-names and vice-versa. Possible early Anglian place-names with indicators of high status and earliness are only located directly on the coastline and Tees estuary. This contrasts with inland areas where later Anglian *tūn* and *wīc* names dominate. The only possible correlation is between the late sixth- or early seventh-century cemetery at Norton and the nearby *hām* place-name Billingham. In the Eden area the sixth- to seventh-century archaeological evidence at Easington, Castle Eden, and Blackhall Rocks only corresponds with later Anglian place-names and Brittonic evidence: the Eden stream and settlement names and the possible cist burials at Castle Eden and Blackhall Rocks. The explanation for this may be that this area remained under British influence to the seventh century, and even if there were early English speakers the result was a lack of early Anglian place-naming but the adoption by some communities of Anglian material culture. Pre-English names may have continued in use until replaced in the later seventh or eighth centuries. The early Anglian place-names are located in good soil and land areas, but there are other good soil areas that only correspond with later Anglian place-names. A suggested interpretative narrative that may explain these patterns is that an early Anglian presence was closely limited to the coast, only extending inland from the eighth century. The reason for this is unclear, but may be due to a strong Brittonic presence that continued into the seventh century. The pollen sites Hutton Henry and Thorpe Bulmer support the idea of post-Roman agricultural continuity in this area. The evidence in the Eden area (another area of good soils) may indicate Brittonic continuity and interaction with an early Anglian presence, possibly intrusive Anglian peasant farmers, or a native population that adopted Germanic material culture but not the language. This may suggest an area of continuing Brittonic political dominance.

In contrast, in the Skerne valley area of the lower Tees basin there is a different evidence profile, where there is a potential correlation between a concentration of possible early Anglian place-names and material evidence at Darlington (late sixth or early seventh century) and possibly Cornforth. This indicates an Anglian presence from at least the early seventh century that correlates with the area of good soils around Sedgefield and Middleham and on the alluvial river soils of the Tees. This is complemented by evidence of Brittonic continuity: cist burials and possible post-Roman evidence at Sedgefield.

The Tyne and Wear Basins, and the River Valleys of South Northumberland

Within this geographical area there are contrasting patterns in the evidence, including those that indicate early Anglian core lands, Brittonic survival and continuity, and hybrid Anglian–Brittonic interaction. In some areas of north-west Durham, place and stream names indicate Brittonic survival. This contrasts with the possible early Anglian place-names concentrated in the mid-Wear basin and rivers Browney and Derwent (where Brittonic evidence is notably scarce). A concentration of hybrid names between these two areas may indicate early Anglian–Brittonic interaction.

In the Tyne basin, the mixture of Brittonic and early Anglian place-name and material evidence may indicate that the North and South Tyne valleys and Redesdale are areas of Anglian–Brittonic interaction. The *-ing(a)hām* names suggest a substantial Anglian presence in these areas from the seventh century, although the material evidence is more equivocal and could indicate an earlier interaction in the sixth century. In south Northumberland, areas of interaction may be indicated by the hybrid pre-English place-names scattered among concentrations of possible early Anglian place-names. This suggestion, however, is speculative because there is virtually no Anglian or Brittonic material evidence. Coquetmouth, with its cluster of possible early Anglian place-name and church evidence, is surrounded by later Anglian place-names, including names in *-lēah* that may indicate woodland. At Coquetmouth there is also a distributive correlation between this early Anglian cluster and the largest concentration of Roman material finds in coastal Northumberland.

There is scant evidence that the Tyne valley formed a territorial boundary. Both north and south of the river Tyne, the early Anglian place-name evidence is chronologically indistinguishable, and the material evidence dates between the late fifth and seventh centuries. The distribution of Brittonic evidence also does not support the suggestion by Dark that the Tyne valley was the southern boundary of a post-Roman Brittonic kingdom (1992: 115–16). Further, there is little to suggest that Hadrian's Wall continued in use as a recognized frontier to the date when an Anglian presence first appeared in the region.

The Tweed Basin and North Northumberland

The evidence in this region indicates that it can be divided into a number of distinct areas. The Bamburgh coastal area, despite the concentration of early Anglian evidence, has significant Brittonic material, including hybrid place-names, a pre-English stream name, and cist burials. One possible interpretation is that there may

have been a substantial Anglian presence from the early seventh or possibly late sixth century, but that although the evidence indicates Anglian linguistic, cultural, and probably political domination, there was also a Brittonic presence that survived well into the seventh century. This would suggest some form of Anglian–Brittonic interaction.

This coastal evidence notably contrasts with the evidence in the Milfield and Till basin. This is an area of good soils and land, but there are virtually no early Anglian place-names except on poor soils at the peripheries of the territory defined by Colm O'Brien as *Gefrinshire* (2002: 61). Instead, pre-English names *Maelmin* (Milfield), Yeavering, and possibly hybrid Branxton are located on the good soil areas. There is an apparent dichotomy between place-name and material evidence because settlement sites at Yeavering, Milfield, and Thirlings, burial sites at Yeavering, Milfield North, and Galewood, and chance finds at Wooler and elsewhere indicate an Anglian presence from the late sixth or early seventh century. One interpretation could be that this was a Brittonic-controlled territory in the sixth and seventh centuries. The evidence indicates Brittonic linguistic domination, and there are other indications of cultural continuity in burials and settlement. Interpretations of Yeavering and Milfield generally emphasize Brittonic antecedents in the building and burial evidence, and in continuity in use of existing sites and monuments (see the papers in Frodsham and O'Brien 2005).

The evidence pattern in the Aln valley is also distinctive. The lower and coastal valley contains good soil and land areas but virtually no early Anglian place-name or material evidence. Place-names indicate a significant Anglian presence only from the eighth century. The absence of any Brittonic evidence makes it possible only to speculate that a strong Brittonic presence may have inhibited an Anglian presence in the sixth and seventh centuries. The mid-valley is composed of generally poor soils and land, but the few isolated areas of good soils and land correlate to the *-ing(a)hām* place-names linguistically dated to the mid-seventh century or earlier. The concentration of *lēah* names in this area indicates that, at least from the eighth century, the landscape was dominated by woodland. In contrast, the evidence in the upper Aln and Breamish valley areas, with concentrations of possible early Anglian place-names (*hām* and early topographic names) and material evidence from New Bewick (Gates and O'Brien 1988), indicates an Anglian linguistic and cultural presence from the late sixth century.

In the Tweed basin there are contrasting patterns of evidence. There is a concentration of Brittonic place-name and material evidence in the upper Tweed basin west of the River Teviot. There is virtually no evidence of an early Anglian–Brittonic interaction, with only scattered possibly early Anglian place-names and burials.

The middle, lower, and coastal Tweed basin all contain a similar pattern of good and reasonable soil and land areas, but different Anglian–Brittonic evidence patterns. The middle basin area, including the tributary valleys of the Rivers Bowmont, Kale, and Oxnam, provides evidence for an early interaction. There is a concentration of early Anglian place-names and material evidence that date to the late sixth or seventh century, together with Brittonic full and hybrid place-names and pre-English material evidence. This may indicate an Anglian presence from the early seventh century and an interaction with a continuing and extensive Brittonic linguistic and cultural presence. In contrast, the lower and coastal areas contain virtually no early Anglian evidence. There is the *-ing(a)hām* name Coldingham (with a Welsh/Brittonic settlement name as specific) directly on the coast, but this indicates only a limited Anglian presence in the seventh century (and possibly late in that century, associated with the monastery). Only from the eighth century is a more extensive Anglian linguistic presence indicated. There is some evidence for a continuing Brittonic presence in this area, with scattered place-names that extend south into Islandshire and cist burials. The evidence seems to correlate to the suggested territories of Berwickshire (between the Leader and Whiteadder valleys) and Coldinghamshire (between the Whiteadder and the coast) (Craster 1954: 179; Morris 1977: 91; Barrow 1973: 28–29, 32). One inter-pretation may be that a territory or territories centred on the mid-Tweed basin was either established or taken over at an early date by the Angles, but that a different process was involved in the coastal and lower valley territory, with possible Brittonic continuity and only a limited Anglian presence until the late seventh or eighth century.

The evidence therefore indicates that there were different processes of Anglian–Brittonic interaction in different areas of this region in the seventh century or earlier. Early Anglian evidence is concentrated in certain areas, but Brit-tonic evidence is more widely scattered across the Tweed basin, north Northum-berland, and coastal areas (although concentrated to the west). This may indicate that although by the seventh century there was Anglian domination of areas such as the Bamburgh coast lands, mid-Tweed basin, and upper Aln and Breamish valleys, there was also Brittonic linguistic and cultural survival. In other areas, early Anglian evidence is scarce, and there is stronger evidence for Brittonic (linguistic, cultural, and arguably political, administrative, and economic) continuity. This evi-dence may support the idea that a north Brittonic kingdom or kingdoms was centred on the Tweed basin and north Northumberland (Higham 1986: 258; Dark 1992: 116). However, it also indicates that by the late sixth or early seventh century this had fragmented into a number of smaller territories, some of which were under Anglian control.

East Lothian

This region provides an example of Anglian–Brittonic interaction and a possible hybrid society. Anglian and Brittonic cultural traits are indicated by both place-name and archaeological evidence, in many cases in close proximity to each other. Their distribution indicates that core areas of interaction centre on coastal north-east Lothian and the Tyne and Pefferburn river valleys. These areas are characterized by good soils and agricultural land. Early Anglian settlement and burial evidence from Markle, Morham, and Whitekirk and the *hām* and *-ing(a)hām* place-names may indicate an Anglian presence by the seventh century. The material evidence from Dunbar and Traprain Law and the *hām* names could be interpreted in a similar way. In contrast, the *-ing(a)hām* names may indicate a later phase of English place-naming involving the establishment of monasteries from the late seventh century. The correlation in the distribution of Brittonic evidence (cists, silver chains, and full and hybrid pre-English names) with this Anglian evidence suggests Brittonic continuity and an interaction with an Anglian presence in the sixth or seventh centuries, although the form of this interaction is unclear.

Concluding Remarks

This study has sought to contribute towards knowledge and understanding of the Bernician transition defined in the introduction. New data provided by the analysis and interpretation of place-names has enabled narratives to be constructed when integrated with, and compared to, early Anglian and Brittonic archaeological evidence. Rather than constructing a single, coherent, concluding narrative to explain the transition, a number of Bernician narratives have instead been proposed. These allow for alternative scenarios and above all for differing local conditions. Further detailed study of specific regions within Bernicia is one of the ways in which this work could be further developed.

References

Alcock, E. 1992. 'Burials and Cemeteries in Scotland', in *The Early Church in Wales and the West*, ed. by N. Edwards and A. Lane, Oxbow Monograph, 16 (Oxford: Oxbow), 125–29

Barbujani, G. 1997. 'DNA Variation and Language Affinities', *American Journal of Human Genetics*, 61: 1011–14

Barrow, G. W. S. 1973. *The Kingdom of the Scots* (London: Arnold)

Breeze, A. 1998. 'Pictish Chains and Welsh Forgeries', *Proceedings of the Scottish Antiquarian Society*, 128: 481–84

Cameron, K. 1996. *English Place-Names* (London: Batsford)

Cavalli-Sforza, L. L. 1991. 'Genes, Peoples and Language', *Scientific American*, November: 72–78

Cessford, C. 1999. 'Relations between the Britons of Southern Scotland and Anglo-Saxon Northumbria', in *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. by J. Hawkes and S. Mills (Stroud: Sutton), 150–60

Coates, R., and A. Breeze. 2000. *Celtic Voices, English Places* (Stamford: Tyas)

Copley, G. J. 1988. *Early Place-Names of the Anglian Regions of England*, BAR British Series, 185 (Oxford: Archaeopress)

Coulmas, F. 1992. *Language and Economy* (Oxford: Blackwell)

Cowen, J. 1931. 'The Capheaton Bowl', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th series, 8: 328–38

Cox, B. 1973. 'The Significance of the Distribution of English Place-Names in -*Hām* in the Midlands and East Anglia', *Journal of the English Place-Name Society*, 5: 15–73

———. 1975. 'The Place-Names of the Earliest English Records', *Journal of the English Place-Name Society*, 8: 12–66

———. 1980. 'Aspects of Place-Name Evidence for Early Medieval Settlement in England', *Viator*, 11: 35–50

Cramp, R. 1984. *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture in England*, vol. I (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

———. 1988. 'Northumbria: The Archaeological Evidence', in *Power and Politics in Early Medieval Britain and Ireland*, ed. by S. T. Driscoll and M. R. Nieke (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), 69–78

Craster, H. H. E. 1954. 'The Patrimony of St Cuthbert', *English Historical Review*, 69: 177–99

Crow, J., and M. Jackson. 1997. 'The Excavation of Hadrians Wall at Sewingshields and the Discovery of a Long Cist Burial', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 5th series, 25: 61–69

Dark, K. R. 1992. 'A Sub-Roman Re-defence of Hadrian's Wall?', *Britannia*, 23: 111–20

———. 2000. *Britain and the End of the Roman Empire* (Stroud: Tempus)

Dark, K. R., and S. P. Dark. 1996. 'New Archaeological and Palynological Evidence for a Sub-Roman Reoccupation of Hadrian's Wall', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 5th series, 24: 57–72

Dodgson, J. McN. 1966. 'The Significance of the Distribution of the English Place-Name in -ingas, -inga in South East England', *Medieval Archaeology*, 10: 1–29

Edwards, J. 1985. *Language, Society and Identity* (Oxford: Blackwell)

Ehret, C. 1988. 'Language Change and the Material Correlates of Language and Ethnic Shift', *Antiquity*, 62: 564–74

Ekwall, E. 1924. 'The Celtic Element', in *Introduction to the Survey of English Place-Names*, ed. by A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, English Place-Name Society, 1.1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 15–35

———. 1928. *English River Names* (Oxford: Clarendon Press)

———. 1960. *The Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4th edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press)

Falsetti, A. B., and R. R. Sokal. 1993. 'Genetic Structure of Human Populations in the British Isles', *Annals of Human Biology*, 20: 215–29

Fox, B. 2007. 'The P-Celtic Place-Names of North-East England and South-East Scotland', *The Heroic Age*, 10, <http://www.heroicage.org/issues/10/fox.html>

Frodsham, P. and C. O'Brien (eds). 2005. *Yeavering: People, Power and Place* (Stroud: Tempus)

Gates, T., and C. O'Brien. 1988. 'Crop Marks at Milfield and New Bewick and the Recognition of *Grubenhäuser* in Northumberland', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 5th series, 16: 1–9

Gelling, M. 1973. *The Place-Names of Berkshire*, Part 1, English Place-Name Society, 49 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

———. 1974. *The Place-Names of Berkshire*, Part 2, English Place-Name Society, 50 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

———. 1976. *The Place-Names of Berkshire*, Part 3, English Place-Name Society, 51 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

———. 1979. 'The Evidence of Place-Names I', in *English Medieval Settlement*, ed. by P. H. Sawyer (London: Edward Arnold), 110–21

———. 1984. *Place-Names in the Landscape* (London: Dent)

———. 1988. 'Towards a Chronology for English Place-Names', in *Anglo-Saxon Settlements*, ed. by D. Hooke (Oxford: Blackwell), 59–76

———. 1993. 'Why Aren't We Speaking Welsh?', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 6: 52–56

———. 1997. *Signposts to the Past*, 3rd edn (Chichester: Phillimore)

Gelling, M., and A. Cole. 2000. *The Landscape of Place-Names* (Stamford: Tyas)

Henshall, A. S. 1955–56. 'A Long Cist Cemetery at Parkburn Sand Pit, Lasswade, Mid Lothian', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 89: 252–83

Higham, N. J. 1986. *The Northern Counties to AD 1000* (London: Longman)

———. 1992. *Rome, Britain and the Anglo-Saxons* (London: Seaby)

———. 1993. *The Kingdom of Northumbria, AD 350–1100* (Stroud: Sutton)

Hills, C. 2003. *Origins of the English* (London: Duckworth)

Hodgkin, J. D. 1935. *A History of the Anglo-Saxons* (Oxford: Clarendon Press)

Hope-Taylor, B. 1977. *Yeavering: An Anglo-British Centre of Early Northumbria* (London: HMSO)

Hunter-Blair, P. 1947. 'The Origins of Northumbria', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th series, 25: 1–51

Jackson, K. H. 1953. *Language and History in Early Britain* (Dublin: Four Courts)

Joseph, J. E. 2004. *Language and Identity* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan)

Kitson, P. R. 2002. 'How Anglo-Saxon Personal Names Work', *Nomina*, 25: 91–131

Kuurman, J. 1974. 'An Examination of the -ingas, -inga Place-Names in the East Midlands', *Journal of the English Place-Name Society*, 7: 11–44

Loveluck, C. 2002. 'The Romano-British to Anglo-Saxon Transition: Social Transformations from the Late Roman to Early Medieval Period in Northern England, AD 400–700', in *Past, Present*

and Future, ed. by C. Brooks, R. Daniels, and A. Harding, Northumberland Research Report, 5 (Durham: Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham), 127–48

Mawer, A. 1920. *The Place-Names of Northumberland and Durham* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Meaney, A. 1964. *A Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites* (London: Allen and Unwin)

Miket, R. 1978. 'Two Early Anglo-Saxon Brooches from Chesters and Chesterholm', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 5th series, 6: 177–80

———. 1980. 'A Restatement of Evidence from Bernician Anglo-Saxon Burials', in *Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries, 1979: The Fourth Anglo-Saxon Symposium at Oxford*, ed. by P. A. Rahtz, T. Dickinson, and L. Watts, BAR British Series, 82 (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports), 289–305

———. 1987. 'The Milfield Basin, Northumberland 4000 BC–AD 800' (unpublished master's thesis, University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne)

Mills, A. D. 1998. *A Dictionary of English Place-Names* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

Morris, C. D. 1977. 'Northumbria and Viking Settlement: Evidence for Landholding', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 5th series, 5: 81–103

Nicolaisen, W. F. H. 2001. *Scottish Place-Names: Their Study and Significance*, 2nd edn (Edinburgh: Donald)

O'Brien, C. 2002. 'The Early Medieval Shires of Yeavering, Breamish and Bamburgh', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 5th series, 30: 53–73

———. 2005. 'Gefrin: Organisation, Abandonment and Aftermath', in *Yeavering: People, Power and Place*, ed. by P. Frodsham and C. O'Brien (Stroud: Tempus), 189–92

Parsons, D. N., and T. Styles. 2000. *The Vocabulary of English Place-Names, BRACE–CAESTER* (Nottingham: Centre of English Name Studies)

Poloni, E. S., and others. 1997. 'Human Genetic Affinities for Y-Chromosome P49a,f/*Taq*Ihaplotypes Show Strong Correspondence with Linguistics', *American Journal of Human Genetics*, 61: 1015–35

Proudfoot, E., and C. Aliaga-Kelly. 1997. 'Aspects of Settlement and Territorial Arrangements in South-East Scotland in the Late Prehistoric and Early Medieval Periods', *Medieval Archaeology*, 41: 33–50

Rosser, Z. H., and others. 2000. 'Y-Chromosomal Diversity in Europe Is Clinal and Influenced Primarily by Geography, Rather Than by Language', *American Journal of Human Genetics*, 67: 1526–43

Smith, A. H. 1956. *English Place-Name Elements*, vols I–II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Smith, I. M. 1983. 'Brito-Roman and Anglo-Saxon: The Unification of the Borders', in *The Borders*, ed. by P. Clack and J. Ivy (Durham: CBA Group 3), 9–48

———. 1991. 'Sprouston, Roxburghshire: An Early Anglian Centre of the Eastern Tweed Basin', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 121: 261–94

Sokal, R. R. 1988. 'Genetic, Geographic, and Linguistic Distances in Europe', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, 85: 1722–26

Sorensen, J. K. 1978. 'Place-Names and Settlement History', in *Names, Words and Graves: Early Medieval Settlement*, ed. by P. H. Sawyer (Leeds: University of Leeds), 1–33

Stenton, F. M. 1911. *The Place-Names of Berkshire: An Essay* (Reading: Reading University College)

———. 1943. *Anglo-Saxon England* (London: Oxford University Press)

Thomas, C. 1971. *The Early Christian Archaeology of North Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

———. 1981. *Christianity in Roman Britain to AD 500* (London: Batsford)

———. 1991–92. 'The Early Christian Inscriptions of Southern Scotland', *Glasgow Archaeological Journal*, 17: 1–10

Waddell, J., and J. Conroy. 1997. 'Celts and Others: Maritime Contacts and Linguistic Change', in *Archaeology and Language*, vol. IV, ed. by R. Blench and M. Spriggs (London: Routledge), 125–37

Watson, W. J. 1926. *The Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Birlinn)

———. 2004. *The Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*, 2nd edn (Edinburgh: Birlinn)

Watts, V. E. 1978. 'The Earliest Anglian Names in Durham', *Nomina*, 2: 30–33

———. 1979. 'The Evidence of Place-Names II', in *English Medieval Settlement*, ed. by P. H. Sawyer (London: Edward Arnold), 122–32

———. 2002. *A Dictionary of County Durham Place-Names*, EPNS Popular Series, 3 (Nottingham: English Place-Name Society)

———. 2004. *The Cambridge Dictionary of Place-Names* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Williamson, M. G. 1942. 'The Non-Celtic Place-Names of the Scottish Border Counties' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Edinburgh University)

Wood, M. 2007. 'Bernician Narratives: Place-Names, Archaeology and History' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Newcastle University)

# Recent Research into Early Medieval York and its Hinterland

R. A. Hall

York's historical and archaeological headlines in the early medieval period are well known. This former Roman fortress, *colonia*, provincial capital, and bishopric became the site of the Anglo-Saxon Northumbrian kingdom's archbishopric and, subsequently, the principal focus of long-term Viking interest in northern England. Its emblematic, logistical, and economic importance made it a prize which the later Anglo-Saxon kings sought to safeguard and retain. Knowledge of its development *c*. 400–1066, however, remains scanty.

This paper introduces, in approximately chronological order, some recent research projects which address questions about York throughout the early medieval era and its relationships with a reasonably immediate hinterland (Map 6). The emphasis is on projects undertaken or contributed to by York Archaeological Trust (YAT). Some are the result of commercially driven archaeology; others represent research undertaken on behalf of English Heritage. For background, relatively recent summaries and syntheses of current knowledge, and discussion of research agendas and desiderata, the reader is directed to works such as Roskams (1996), Rollason (1998), Tweddle and others (1999), and Hall and others (2004) for York and, for its hinterland, to Loveluck (2003) and Hall (2003).

York in the Fifth Century

Although the character of both late Roman (fourth-century) and sub-Roman (fifth-century) York have been topics of long-term interest and speculation, there is virtually no unambiguous evidence for fifth-century occupation or activity within either the Roman fortress or the *colonia*. Probably the best-known deposits
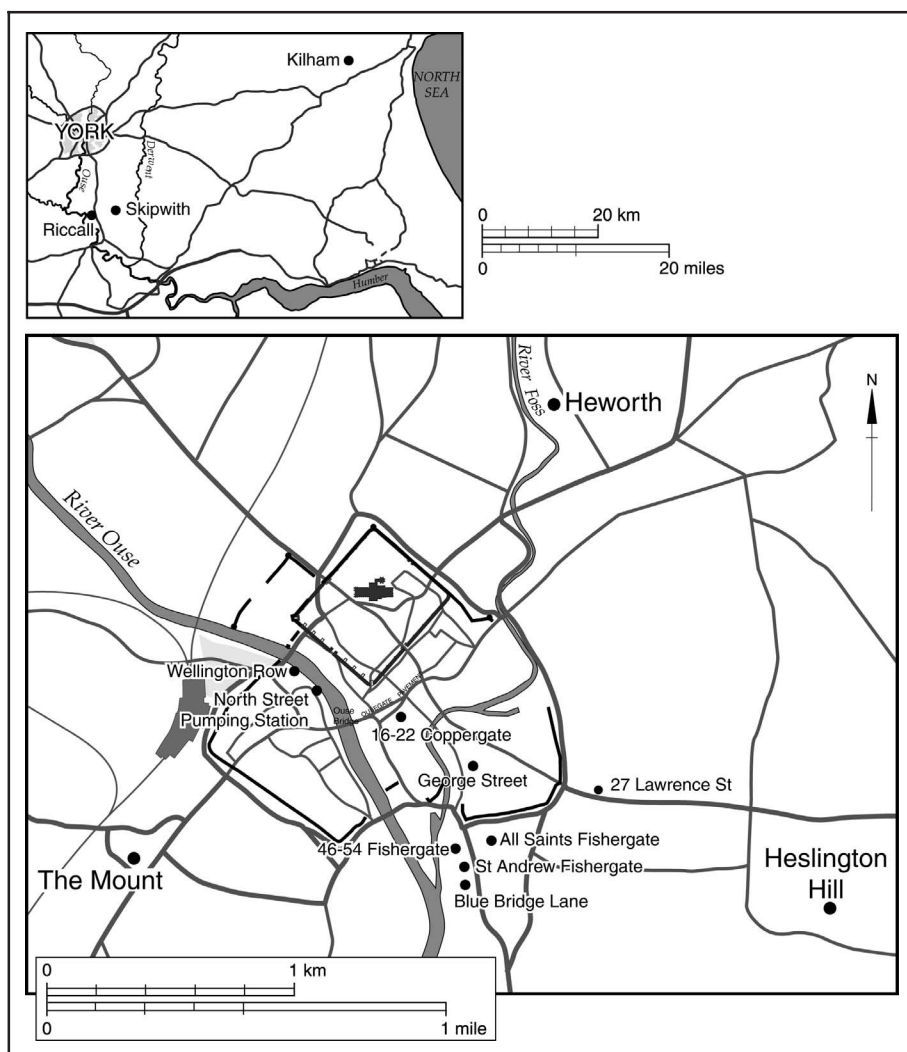
Map 6. The location in York and Yorkshire of sites mentioned in the text.
Drawn by Lesley Collett. (© York Archaeological Trust)

of potential relevance are those which were briefly seen and rapidly recorded in the excavations undertaken by Derek Phillips when York Minster was underpinned in 1967–73 (Phillips and Heywood 1995). Within the former basilican hall of the *principia* a sequence of deposits over late Roman levels includes three principal horizons. They have been characterized as 'lower mud silt', consisting of fine-grained sands and interpreted as a deliberately laid binding for the (recycled) latest

Roman stone flagged floor; 'multiple layers', thought to represent intermittent use of the hall during the early Middle Ages; and 'upper mud silt'. This latter contained many animal bones, including the evocatively titled 'small pig horizon' which has been linked either with somewhat precarious subsistence or with aristocratic feasting (Carver 1995: 195; Gerrard 2007); the bones have radiocarbon dates in the late fourth/early fifth centuries. Above this lay debris marking the hall's collapse. The dating of this entire sequence is ambiguous, and a variety of radically different overall interpretations is possible (Carver 1995). It is hoped that an imminent small-scale excavation within this critical area, and the ensuing scientific analysis, will characterize and date these deposits more precisely.

It may be, too, that York Minster can contribute further to this debate without still more excavation. During a recent project, funded by English Heritage, to review all the varied architectural and archaeological evidence for the Norman and Early Gothic cathedral at York Minster, elements of the stratigraphic record made during the excavations of 1967–73 have been digitized and a composite, three-dimensional model of them has been created. An unexpected outcome has been the identification of a variety of structural and other features which appear to fall stratigraphically between the Roman and Norman horizons but which have not been explained in published accounts. It thus seems possible that a more detailed spatial and stratigraphic analysis of these deposits would retrieve more evidence for late developments of and structural changes to the Roman buildings here than is evident from the existing publication. The potential significance of such reinterpretation of the post-Roman phases — including the possibility of identifying actual structural modifications and construction episodes dating to the fifth century and perhaps into the sixth and seventh — is clearly very considerable.

An example of how such an analysis can result in completely new interpretations has come from Dr Mark Whyman's review of data from 16–22 Wellington Row, a site adjacent to the *colonia* waterfront by the Roman bridge across the Ouse which was excavated by YAT in 1988–89 (Whyman 2001). His conclusion is that a substantial Roman building was repaired, renovated, reconfigured, and rebuilt on several occasions after the latest well-dated episode which occurred in the period 375–400. Given the number and scale of these late or sub-Roman episodes, he further suggests that these initiatives, a story of continued responses to changing requirements, must have continued into at least the central years of the fifth century. Such a time-scale would indicate an extended attempt to adapt York's urban infrastructure in the face of economic and social upheaval; but more datasets and case studies are needed to evaluate any patterns of use that there may be across the entire townscape. A project called Urban Transitions, the purpose of which is

precisely to investigate critical periods of change, has recently begun at YAT, funded by English Heritage. It will further examine the potential of data from this and other large unpublished sites, principally in the Roman *colonia* area, to shed light on these centuries.

An example of the serendipitous nature of discovery comes in recent excavations at George Street/Dixon Lane, in the extramural area east of the Roman fortress, relatively close to the River Foss. They recovered a Roman gold finger-ring set with a carnelian, a late fourth- to fifth-century type found elsewhere in association with hoards (McComish 2007). This was a residual find in a later medieval grave, so the circumstances of its original deposition are unknown, but there is a tantalizing possibility that this area, which has seen relatively little archaeological investigation, may produce evidence for this elusive phase of York's history if commercial development should allow further opportunities for excavation in the future.

York in the Sixth and Early Seventh Centuries

If occupation continued on some sites in York into the middle of the fifth century, there is no historical record of any activity in the city in that or the succeeding century, and no archaeological sequences are known to extend into the 500s. It is only with the baptism in York of King Edwin of Northumbria in 627 that a historical narrative resumes, and virtually all the references to York in the period up to the Viking attack in 866 relate to ecclesiastical matters. In contrast, commerce is attested archaeologically only from the late seventh/early eighth century, and documented only from the later eighth century.

It has been suggested that Anglian York was a polyfocal settlement, with separate areas for royal, religious, secular, and trading/industrial use (Kemp 1996: 3; Tweddle and others 1999: 298). York is recorded as both *Eoforwicceastre* and *Eoforwic*, perhaps a reflection of such a polyfocal settlement in the same way as the names *Lundenburh* and *Lundenwic* may indicate distinct defended/administrative and commercial areas of contemporary London. If the evidence currently available is not so limited as to mislead, it would seem, however, that the focus of commercial activities along the river banks, which is discussed below, was not brought into existence for fifty years or more after the Northumbrian Christian epicentre was initiated within the former Roman fortress.

There is presently no indication of any occupation within York's Roman defences in the later fifth or early sixth century, unless the sequences from sites such as York Minster or Wellington Row can be extended to these decades. There

is, however, archaeological evidence, largely gathered by nineteenth-century anti-
quarians, for the presence of later fifth-/sixth-century cemeteries in the immediate
vicinity of the former Roman city. Cremation urns were found to the south-west
of the city at The Mount and to the north-east at Heworth, 500m and 800m
respectively beyond the nearest point in the Roman defences (Tweddle and others
1999: 167–77). Any settlement sites which were associated with them have not,
however, been located.

Evidence for live rather than dead Anglo-Saxons was found in 2002 during
excavations by Field Archaeology Specialists at Heslington Hill, about 2km outside
the Roman fortress. Deposits and artefacts there are interpreted as representing
refuse deposits from nearby occupation on this part of the morainic ridge, in a
period centred on *c*. AD 550–650 (Spall and Toop 2008). They suggest that this
settlement shares some characteristics with the later *wic* settlement located some
1.75km away. For example, geographical contacts with Lincolnshire and the
Thames basin are indicated by the presence of pots made in those areas, while a
glass bead may have been made in the Netherlands.

Further from York, on the Wolds of the East Riding, lies Kilham, a site which
is well known to students of Anglo-Saxon settlement because of its cemeteries and
metal-detected finds (Meaney 1964: 292; Naylor 2007: 51, 54). Small-scale trial
excavations just beyond the village have uncovered traces of very well-preserved
grubenhäuser, as well as post-built halls, a central trackway, and ditches defining
plots of ground to either side. Most of the datable objects recovered in the excava-
tions are from the later Roman and early Anglo-Saxon periods of the fourth–sixth
centuries, but metal-detected finds suggest that occupation continued here until
c. 900; the later strata may have been removed by modern ploughing. There is an
opportunity here to characterize at least the earlier phases of occupation in this
part of what may have been a relatively large site complex; this would be a step
towards understanding how and why the settlement came to have the functions
and status suggested by the metal-detected finds, and would also allow comparisons
with other contemporary settlements on or near the Wolds, such as Cottam,
Wharram Percy, and West Heslerton.

Late Seventh- to Mid-Ninth-Century York ~ Eoforwic.

It seems that the principal legacy of Roman *Eboracum* that survived into the sev-
enth century was the two defended enclosures, with their well-defined entrances.
In contrast, most Roman buildings within these defences may have been reduced
to rubble, stub walls, or dangerous states of dereliction by the seventh century. It

may have been in part for these pragmatic reasons, as well as because of issues of ownership, that these sites appear not to have been intensively occupied in the late seventh century and beyond. A key discovery about York's development came with YAT's excavations in 1985–86 at 46–54 Fishergate, some 750m beyond the east side of the Roman fortress, near the confluence of the Rivers Ouse and Foss. This work revealed the remains of an extensive settlement, apparently with two main phases of occupation, dating from the late seventh to mid-ninth centuries. This settlement was not occupied for long after the Viking capture of the city in AD 866 (a coin of *c*. 895–905 was found in later deposits: Kemp 1996: 78) and remained largely abandoned until *c*. AD 1000, when a church and cemetery were established. Equating these seventh- to ninth-century remains with the documented site of *Eoforwic*, York was thus added to the select group of sites which may be identified archaeologically as *wics*, that is, centres of manufacturing and commerce in middle Saxon England. There was, however, considerable room for debate about the size and nature of *Eoforwic*. Investigations by Field Archaeology Specialists during 2000–02 at the adjacent sites of Blue Bridge Lane and Fishergate House, immediately south of the YAT excavations, uncovered similar features representing occupation (Spall and Toop 2005). The dating evidence for the overall duration of this activity corroborates that found at Fishergate; the earliest medieval coins recovered are two continental *sceattas* dated *c*. 695–740, while the latest coin, recovered residually, is a *styca* of Æthelred II of Northumbria dated 843/44–849/50. The artefactual evidence, like that from 46–54 Fishergate, indicates that both manufacturing and international commerce took place. A radiocarbon determination suggests that an adjacent cemetery originated in the seventh to ninth centuries (Spall and Toop 2005), and it is suggested that it may, either at this time or later, have been associated with the church of St Helen, Fishergate. The church was closed and demolished in the sixteenth century and hitherto was thought to have stood on the opposite side of the approach road into York, in the modern Winterscale Street (Wilson and Mee 1998: 83).

There is no suggestion at present of any discovery in the *wic* area at York comparable to that of the Early Saxon cremation cemetery, in use by at least 550–600, which was excavated in 2005 at Wellington Street in London. This area behind the Strand was where the *wic* of London developed in the late seventh century. While that discovery cannot be taken to suggest that *Lundenwic* was functioning at such an early date, it does presumably indicate settlement thereabouts at a date earlier than hitherto suspected. Spall and Toop (2008) suggest that the origins of *Eoforwic* are related to the desertion of the Heslington Hill settlement, which they date to *c*. 650.

Spall and Toop (2005) have also suggested that *Eoforwic* had its core at or near 46–54 Fishergate and that it dispersed radially from there, encompassing only about four hectares. However, more recent data relating to the extent of *Eoforwic* has come from excavations by YAT in 2006 at George Street/Dixon Lane, some 250m closer to the former Roman fortress than the Fishergate site. Evidence was recovered of activity in the Roman period, from the late first to the mid-fourth century or beyond, conceivably into the fifth century (see above); after an apparent hiatus the site seems to have been reoccupied in the late seventh century and to have remained in use thenceforth. The Anglian period is represented archaeologically here by ditches, rectangular post-built structures, pits, and sunken-featured buildings (McComish 2007), all features that are parallelled at 46–54 Fishergate. The pottery assemblage includes a range of continental wares which, together with associated coins, suggest that Anglian activity and occupation may have extended from the late seventh to the mid-ninth century, and continued into the Viking Age of the later ninth century and beyond (Mainman 2007).

This new evidence further supports the contention that a zone approximately 700m or more in length along the east bank of the River Foss was used by traders, and there are hints of an equivalent strip along the river's west bank. Stratified finds of imported pottery suggest that both banks of the Ouse were also frequented by merchants dealing with the continent, and excavations by YAT in 1993 between North Street and the River Ouse revealed a sequence of waterfront management that seemed to include seventh- to ninth-century phases. This extensive lateral spread of riverside activity suggests that there may have been many individuals or corporate promoters involved in these enterprises.

If this was essentially a trading area, a further question concerns the locations of the occupation sites where the traded goods were enjoyed. The commercial exchanges at *Eoforwic* may have been the means that brought luxury items to high-status individuals living both in, around, and well beyond the settlement; but, as noted above, there is at present scarcely any evidence for Anglian period occupation sites within the later medieval walled city, and the evidence that does exist is ambiguous and tantalizing. To resolve this, and other major questions about *Eoforwic*, requires a much greater level of archaeological definition than is currently available.

Eoforwic's Hinterland

Two recent campaigns of excavation have provided new information about different aspects of settlement in *Eoforwic*'s hinterland. One has posed questions

about the mechanisms of manufacture and exchange, the other about ecclesiastical provision in the countryside.

At a location within striking distance of York but previously unknown to archaeologists, metal detecting over many years recovered a substantial quantity of coins and artefacts at the site known as 'Ainsbrook'. The early medieval metal-detected coins were overwhelmingly Northumbrian *stycas*, with a few later issues; the objects included weights, strap-ends, other (mainly fragmentary) decorated metalwork, and more utilitarian items. The site was eventually brought to archaeological notice when it was thought that a human burial had been uncovered in association with a hoard of objects. The hoard appears quite closely dated thanks to the presence of coins of Alfred of Wessex and Burgred of Mercia, which suggest that it was deposited after 874, probably in the last quarter of the ninth century (G. Williams, pers. comm.). It also includes a fragmentary Arab dirham, a coin which is usually associated in England with the presence of Vikings, as well as weights, hacksilver, weaponry, decorated metalwork, and other items.

In order to define and characterize the site, English Heritage commissioned a phased programme of investigation. Following extensive survey work, evaluation excavations by YAT discovered traces of significant prehistoric features. Although some intact stratification was found which may be attributed to the early medieval period, few features of this date were encountered apart from two disturbed human burials, one of which yielded a radiocarbon determination in the tenth century. In the absence of more extensive excavations, characterization of this site depends largely, therefore, upon consideration of the artefact assemblage. This work is currently in progress; the hope is to determine whether this was a permanent occupation site or the location of periodic activities, to define what activities were carried out, to refine understanding of the site's chronology, to attempt to identify if there is a Viking component in all of this, and most importantly, to place the site within a settlement framework.

Pre-Norman ecclesiastical provision has been probed at the parish church of St Helen, Skipwith, 14km south-east of York, already well known to architectural historians for its 'Late Saxon' or 'Saxo-Norman' tower. Survey and excavation within and around the tower, necessitated by working of the Selby coalfield, have pushed back the church's origins and posed a series of new questions about its context and function before the eleventh century, the date commonly ascribed to the church tower and, hitherto, to the foundation of the church (Hall and others 2008b).

The earliest activity now identified and securely dated is represented by a number of burials with radiocarbon determinations which indicate that they may

be as early as the late seventh and eighth centuries, although dates throughout the late ninth and tenth centuries are equally possible. Whatever their precise date, they are evidence for ritual activity on this site before the generally accepted date for the construction of the earliest surviving parts of the church which stands today. Furthermore, some of these burials were within a hitherto unsuspected building that predates the standing tower. This early building had a relatively small adjunct, perhaps a porch or tower, at its west end, beyond the standing tower; the west, north, and south walls of that tower follow the lines of an underlying room, which extends east for at least 7.6m.

The discovery of a fragment of an early ninth-century cross shaft provides a terminus ante quem or a terminus ad quem for the Christian foundation here. Another sculptural fragment, the so-called 'bear stone', although difficult to date precisely within the early medieval period, has been identified by Richard Bailey as part of an ecclesiastical chair, a sign of a high-status, perhaps monastic or episcopal, occupancy.

This is a welcome addition to the map of early medieval ecclesiastical sites in York's hinterland; indeed, in contrast to the situation to the north of the city, there are relatively few such sites identified in this area. To judge by the presence of the so-called Ragnarök graffito, the church was in use in the tenth or eleventh century; at a time which most architectural historians would place within the eleventh century, the present tower was built. A terminus post quem for its erection is provided by a radiocarbon determination of AD 770–980 for an individual buried beneath its south-east corner. The tower represents a rebuilding and enlargement of the earlier stone structure, perhaps prompted by a change in ownership and/or liturgical requirements; it is tempting to link it with the new patronage of the Bishop of Durham, who acquired the church in 1084.

Anglo-Scandinavian York: Origins and Development

Among recently recognized aspects of Anglo-Scandinavian York, there is new evidence for the extent of occupation at that time. At 27 Lawrence Street, the main route south-eastwards beyond the later medieval city walls, excavations in 2006 revealed among other things post-holes and pits which represent a sequence of Anglo-Scandinavian buildings and their occupation. This is the furthest to the south-east of the city's core that Viking-Age occupation has yet been firmly established; these discoveries emphasize the extent of extramural *Jorvik* and underline the remarkable size and prosperity of the Anglo-Scandinavian city.

Within the later medieval city walls and closer to the River Foss, at Dixon Lane/George Street, the Anglian period (seventh- to ninth-century) occupation discussed above continued, apparently without interruption, into the Anglo-Scandinavian era. Although no clear evidence for Anglo-Scandinavian structures was found, the number of contemporary rubbish pits indicates nearby settlement. Their contents indicated a marked increase in the disposal of industrial waste from the tenth century onwards, with bone-, antler-, and horn-working, iron-working, copper-working, and textile production all represented. These activities were seen at the 16–22 Coppergate site, though a far wider range of crafts and, apparently, a far greater density of craft-working activity were represented there. Furthermore, Dixon Lane/George Street lacked evidence for the widespread international trade that was provided by imported goods at Coppergate, such as lava quernstones and pottery from the Rhine, Norwegian schist stones for hones, amber from the Baltic, or silk from Byzantium (Mainman 1990: 477–84; Rogers 1997: 1825–26; Mainman and Rogers 2000: 2605–09). Dixon Lane/George Street thus seems to be less commercial and industrial in nature than 16–22 Coppergate, perhaps representing an outlying, primarily domestic settlement, though it is possible that the differences seen may simply be a reflection of a less intensive pattern of settlement at Dixon Lane/George Street rather than a difference in function.

Continuity of occupation through the ninth century of the type identified here is unusual in York's archaeological record and provides new perspectives on the way in which the transition from *Eoforwic* to *Jorvik* took place. It has often been assumed that the establishment at some point in the early medieval period of a new crossing point over the River Ouse, on the site occupied by the later medieval and modern Ouse Bridge, made the Ousegate/Pavement area prime to the development of the Anglo-Scandinavian city. Evidence from 16–22 Coppergate showed that activity and occupation hereabouts resumed in the central ninth century, after a hiatus of centuries, and intensified in the early tenth century. However, the evidence for late ninth-century occupation at Dixon Lane/George Street suggests that there may have been more widespread settlement at that time than had previously been envisaged; perhaps more extensive areas along and close to the rivers may have been of greater significance than has hitherto been believed?

Above the sequence of Viking-Age secular occupation at Dixon Lane/George Street were thirteen graves, exhibiting a wide range of mortuary practices, the earliest in an extensive series representing a medieval cemetery. This particular group is interpreted as being of pre-Conquest date; they have been assigned to the early to mid-eleventh century, for they predate a ditch which is apparently of later eleventh-/twelfth-century date. The ditch itself is interpreted as defining the limits

of the cemetery of St Stephen's church, a foundation which is known to have stood hereabouts by 1093–94, even though no trace of it other than burials was found within the excavations; it was shut and, presumably, demolished in the fourteenth century (Wilson and Mee 1998: 154). All Saints, Fishergate, a church in existence in 1091–95 and shut by or at the Reformation (Wilson and Mee 1998: 25), was excavated in 2007 by Onsite Archaeology at the corner of Fawcett Street and Kent Street, some 110m outside the later medieval walls, on the main road southwards; a possible pre-Conquest phase of activity was represented by the earliest structure, which had been built of timber. A further 100m out from the medieval centre was the site of the late tenth-/early eleventh-century church of St Andrew, Fishergate (Kemp 1996: 74). As noted above, the excavations by Field Archaeology Specialists at Blue Bridge Lane, a further 120m beyond the St Andrew's site, revealed a cemetery with an apparent pre-Viking origin which has been interpreted as the site of St Helen's, Fishergate. Together, this clutch of churches suggests that settlement of some sort had colonized this main approach road to the city before the Norman Conquest; complementing the evidence from Lawrence Street noted above, the picture developing is of an even larger pre-Norman city than had previously been suspected.

The End of an Era

Burial has also been the focus of attention in a recent reconsideration of the accumulated evidence for activity adjacent to the River Ouse at Riccall, some 14km south of York. A series of contemporary and near-contemporary sources name Riccall as the place where, in 1066, King Harald Hardrada of Norway moored his invasion fleet. It was thither that the defeated remnants of his army fled after the battle of Stamford Bridge, a rout that signalled the end of the Viking Age in England.

Human remains have been recovered hereabouts in several discrete episodes of investigation and salvage since the 1950s, but until recently only one of these datasets had been studied and reported (Wenham 1960). English Heritage has underwritten a new analysis which has used a range of scientific techniques to study all the skeletal remains and associated material. This has demonstrated that the sample of the cemetery population available for study does not represent Norwegian warriors; but rather, that this is a cemetery used by a normal cross-section of the population in the seventh to twelfth centuries (Hall and others 2008a). No trace of any church has yet been identified, but the end of the cemetery's use

approximately coincides with the earliest fabric at the parish church in the village of Riccall, some 1km from the riverside. Whether this coincidence reflects a critical stage of settlement development at Riccall or whether, as noted above in relation to Skipwith, there is an unknown and unsuspected early medieval phase of occupation at Riccall church and village remains to be discovered.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

AY = The Archaeology of York series
YAT = York Archaeological Trust

References

Carver, M. O. H. 1995. 'Roman to Norman at York Minster', in D. Phillips and B. Heywood, *Excavations at York Minster*, vol. I: *From Roman Fortress to Norman Cathedral* (London: HMSO), 177–222

Gerrard, J. 2007. 'Rethinking the Small Pig Horizon at York Minster', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 26.3: 303–07

Hall, R. A. 2003. 'Yorkshire 700–1066', in *The Archaeology of Yorkshire: An Assessment at the Beginning of the 21st Century*, ed. by T. G. Manby, S. Moorhouse, and P. J. Ottaway, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Occasional Paper, 3 (Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society), 171–80

Hall, R. A., and others. 2004. *Aspects of Anglo-Scandinavian York*, AY, 8/4 (York: YAT)

———. 2008a. 'The Medieval Cemetery at Riccall Landing: A Reappraisal', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 80: 55–92

———. 2008b. 'St Helen's Church, Skipwith, North Yorkshire' *Archaeological Journal*, 165: 399–470

Kemp, R. L. 1996. *The Church and Gilbertine Priory of St Andrew, Fishergate*, AY, 11/2 (York: YAT)

Loveluck, C. 2003. 'The Archaeology of Post-Roman Yorkshire, AD 400–700: Overview and Future Directions for Research', in *The Archaeology of Yorkshire: An Assessment at the Beginning of the 21th Century*, ed. by T. G. Manby, S. Moorhouse, and P. J. Ottaway, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Occasional Paper, 3 (Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society), 151–70

Mainman, A. J. 1990. *Anglo-Scandinavian Pottery from Coppergate*, AY, 16/5 (York: YAT)

———. 2007. '4.2 Post-Roman Pottery', in J. McOmish, *Roman, Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian Activity and a Medieval Cemetery on Land at the Junction of Dixon Lane and George Street, York*. AY Web Series, 9 (York: YAT) <http://www.iadb.co.uk/yat/publish.htm?PUB=47> [accessed 4 April 2009]

Mainman, A. J., and N. S. H. Rogers. 2000. *Finds from Anglo-Scandinavian York*, AY, 17/14 (York: YAT)

McComish, J. 2007. *Roman, Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian Activity and a Medieval Cemetery on Land at the Junction of Dixon Lane and George Street, York*, AY Web Series, 9 (York: YAT), <http://www.iadb.co.uk/yat/publish.htm?PUB=47> [accessed 4 April 2009]

Meaney, A. 1964. *A Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites* (London: Allen and Unwin)

Naylor, J. D. 2007. 'The Circulation of Early-Medieval European Coinage: A Case Study from Yorkshire c.650–c.867', *Medieval Archaeology*, 51: 41–62

Phillips, D., and B. Heywood. 1995. *Excavations at York Minster*, vol. I: *From Roman Fortress to Norman Cathedral* (London: HMSO)

Rogers, P. W. 1997. *Textile Production at 16–22 Coppergate*, AY, 17/11 (York: YAT)

Rollason, D. W. 1998. *Sources for York History to AD 1100*, AY, 1 (York: YAT)

Roskams, S. 1996. 'Urban Transition in Early Medieval Britain: The Case of York', in *Towns in Transition: Urban Evolution in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by N. Christie and S. Loseby (Aldershot: Scolar), 159–83

Spall, C. A., and N. J. Toop (eds). 2005. *Blue Bridge Lane and Fishergate House, York: Report on Excavations, July 2000–July 2002*, <http://www.archaeologicalplanningconsultancy.co.uk/mono/001/index.html> [accessed 8 April 2009]

———. 2008. 'Before Eoforwic: New Light on York in the 6th–7th Centuries', *Medieval Archaeology*, 52: 1–2

Tweddle, D., and others. 1999. *Anglian York: A Survey of the Evidence*, AY, 7/2 (York: YAT)

Wenham, L. P. 1960. 'Seven Archaeological Discoveries in Yorkshire: Human Skeletons, Riccall Landing', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 40: 301–07

Whyman, M. 2001. 'Late Roman Britain in Transition, AD 300–500: A Ceramic Perspective from East Yorkshire' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of York)

Wilson, B., and F. Mee. 1998. *The Medieval Parish Churches of York*, AY Supplementary Series, 1 (York: YAT)

# Northumbria in the West: Considering Interaction Through Monumentality

Nicola J. Toop

Introduction: The Northumbrian Expansion into the West

By at least the seventh century, Northumbria had become a major political and ecclesiastical power, wielding influence over an ever-increasing territory (Rollason 2003: 29–30). The expansion into western Britain is an accepted occurrence, attested in a range of literary and historical sources (Cramp 1995). In the areas now known as Cumbria and Dumfries and Galloway, used here as a study area (Map 7), Old English place-names and carved stone monuments have frequently been used as linguistic and cultural evidence for the expansion of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom (Bailey and Cramp 1988; Craig 1992; Cramp 1995; Nicolaisen 2001; MacQueen 2002).

However, the political interaction involved in this spread of influence is not well understood, largely due to an imbalance in historical evidence; while Northumbria is relatively well documented, little is known of the various communities that occupied areas to the west. Documents provide the names of British kingdoms and their leaders, most notably Rheged, but do not allow them to be defined geographically. These sources provide evidence for key skirmishes, battles, and marriages between the Anglian kingdom and neighbouring polities, but offer a dislocated and incomplete account (Clarkson 1994; Cramp 1995; Phythian-Adams 1996; McCarthy 2002).

The fragmentary nature of the evidence means that indications of Northumbrian influence and control, drawn from different disciplines, have tended to be grouped together to describe the gradual encroachment of an Anglian frontier across the Pennines, culminating in the far west in the installation of a
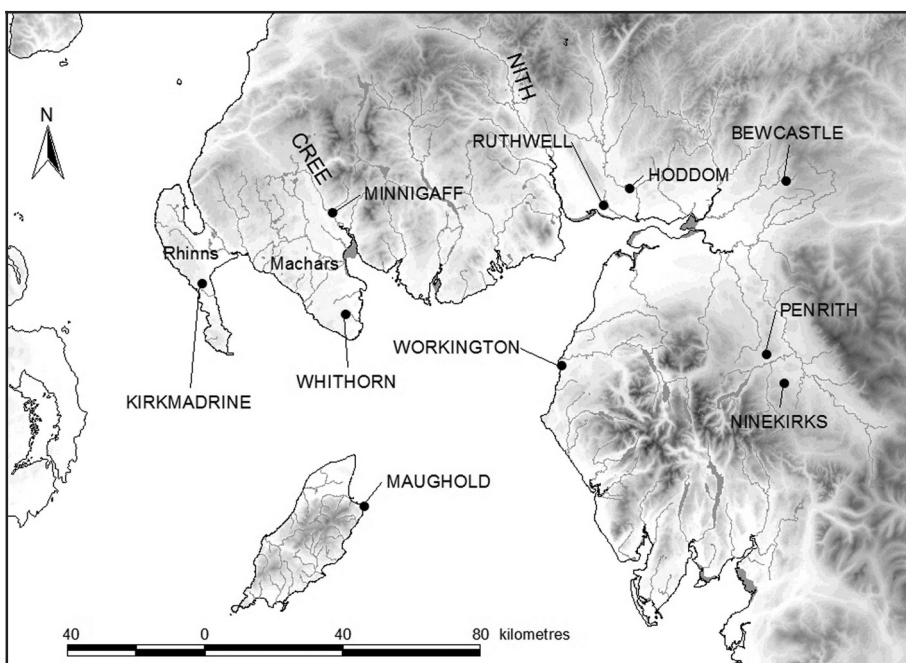
Map 7. The study area, with sites mentioned in the text.

Northumbrian bishop at Whithorn, proudly recounted by Bede at the end of his *Historia Ecclesiastica* (V, 23). This, with the apparent political vacuum in which the Northumbrian-influenced monuments were established and places named, can make something of a flat narrative and allows neither for the diverse patchwork of polities that would have been encountered in these areas nor for the different types of interaction that each might have had with the incomers.

This paper argues that Christian monuments can be used to reveal more about the political landscape of the west and the nature of the Northumbrian expansion westwards. Working from the premise that the choices in ideological investment reflect not only religious affiliation but also political alignment and aspiration (De Marrais and others 1996; Carver 2001; Carver this volume), the geographical spread of Christian monuments is used to discuss the Northumbrian encroachment, not in terms of a linear trajectory, but as a series of interactions with different polities.

Using Christian Monumentality to Map Political Alignment

It has long been accepted that the adoption of Christianity in the early medieval period, and the concomitant investment in monuments and churches to proclaim this, was a politicized process. As a source of political power, Christianity could be used to support leadership, particularly kingship (Stevenson 1996: 173; Higham 1997). The church provided legitimization through the development of concepts of 'divine kingship' (Nieke and Duncan 1988: 10), while leading clerics could legitimize, sustain, and enhance kingly power both at home and abroad (Higham 1999: 95). Christianity provided a means of strengthening political powers, both vertically, by maintaining leadership within a kingdom, and horizontally, in its role in forging political alliances. The process of god-parenthood, in the conversion of one elite by another, has been highlighted as an important way in which alliances and relations between polities could be cemented (Lynch 1998).

In order to be effective as a source of power, ideology has to be given material form (De Marrais and others 1996; Earle 1997: 10). The 'materialization of ideology', whether through monuments, burial, ceremonies, artefacts, or writing systems, represents a means of centrally manipulating religion, in order for it to be experienced by a wider audience. If considered in this way, then each of the forms of evidence available for early medieval Christianity — texts, sculpture, place-names, liturgical metalwork, burial, churches — provides information on a different aspect of the materialization of ideology, or monumentality, of any particular community (Carver 2001).

The creation of monuments also emphasizes links between ideological and economic power (Brumfiel and Earle 1987: 9). The nature of the monuments erected, therefore, is a reflection of the affiliations of those with the wealth and surplus to create them. Similarly, the creation of texts would have required significant economic resources, illustrated by the oft-quoted example of the Codex Amiatinus, calculated to have required the skins of 1545 calves in its production (Gameson 1992: 9). Dissemination of texts was therefore the preserve of not only an educated elite, but also those with economic and political power. The same can be said for the nature of church construction and choices of burial rite. Place-names, although not usually considered as investment, can also provide information relating to ideology. By endowing Christian sites with ecclesiastical place-names, they became fixed points in the lives and landscapes of contemporary and later populations. The varying forms of ecclesiastical place-names, such as Gaelic *cill* or the less common Brittonic *eccles* names, provide an insight into the different linguistic groups that invested in Christianity, and when studied within their wider

toponymic context can, in some cases, provide an indication of the chronological development of a Christian landscape.

Creating maps from this evidence is not a new idea; material investment in Christianity, be it sculpture, churches, or burials, has long been used to map the conversion or reconversion of specific geographical areas (for example, Thomas 1981: 137–38). Although useful, this 'checklist' approach has not tended to illustrate differences *within* Christian investment or address the insights that can be gained by studying these variations (Lane 2001: 149; Petts 2003a: 109). Maps have been used as a valuable means of exploring Christian investment and used to reveal aspects of the political landscape (Driscoll 2000; Carver 2001; Gondek 2006). In this study, variations within Christian investment — sculpture, ecclesiastical sites, and place-names — have been mapped in order to reveal aspects of the political landscape in western Britain both before and following the Northumbrian expansion.

The West before Northumbria

The influence of Northumbria in the west cannot be understood without consideration of the territories that were encroached upon, and brief attention has to be given to historical evidence for this area, and particularly the kingdom of Rheged. Although poorly documented, it is generally accepted that, following the decline of Roman administration, northern Britons formed warbands that eventually became small kingdoms (Cessford 1999: 150). Their leaders were referred to by the Welsh writers as the *Gwŷr y Gogledd*, or the 'Men of the North' (Chadwick 1949: 137); the limits of their territories, however, are not well known. For the western area into which Northumbria extended its influence, the key player was the kingdom of Rheged, known to have been ruled in the later sixth century by Urien. Rheged has no annalistic, legal, or ecclesiastical record and no artistic legacy; the majority of sources that refer to this polity are much later and often unreliable (Dumville 1977). Most frequently, discussions of Rheged rely on a few key sources, primarily the poems of Taliesin, the *Historia Brittonum*, and the *Annales Cambriae* (Whitelock 1955: 236–38; Williams 1975; Clarkson 1994; Laing and Longley 2006: 160–64).

The territory of Rheged is frequently located across large areas of Cumbria, and Dumfries and Galloway (for example, Smyth 1984: 21) (Map 8). This presumption relies on small pieces of evidence, in particular on the use of the term *tra merin reget*, 'beyond the sea of Rheged', in the Book of Taliesin (Williams 1975: xli). 'The sea of Rheged' is traditionally equated with the Solway Firth and has led to the
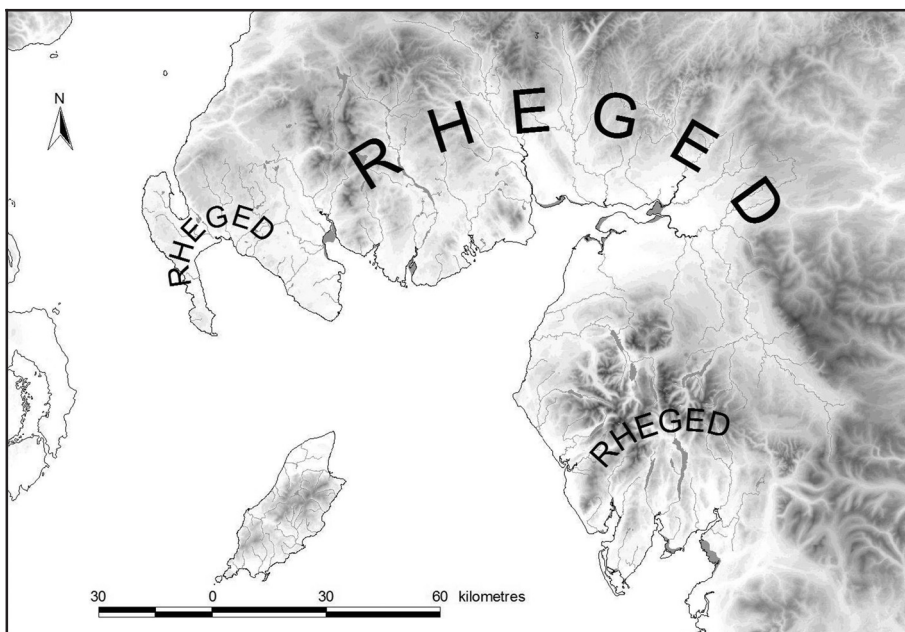
Map 8. Suggested locations of Rheged, after Smyth 1984; Phythian-Adams 1996; McCarthy 2002.

widely held view that Rheged was focused on Carlisle and spanned large tracts of south-west Scotland and north-west England, to either side of the Solway (Williams 1951; Thomas 1971: 16). Other place-name associations have been used to support such an assumption; poems mention the region of *Llwyfenydd*, which has been linked to the river name Lyvennet, near Crosby Ravensworth (Cumbria), and the place-name Dunragit, in Galloway, has been translated as 'fort of Rheged' (Hogg 1946; MacQueen 2002: 92; Laing and Longley 2006: 162). When mapped, these place-names and sites describe a large territory west of the Pennines, stretching from Rochdale to the Rhinns (Laing and Longley 2006: 161).

The idea that Rheged occupied such a large territory has, however, been disputed. Mike McCarthy (2002: 361) has observed that, if the traditional extent of the kingdom is accepted, it would have been much larger than the known extents of contemporary polities and suggests a smaller territory should be sought. He suggests that *merin reget* might refer to Luce Bay and uses the place-name Dunragit, the relatively rich prehistoric landscape, and the extensive communication links of this area to suggest that Rheged can be located in western Galloway. Phythian-Adams (1996: 49) suggests a totally different location; he notes that sources refer to Urien as Prince of Catterick (*Catraeth*) and that the reference to Lyvennet is to

a residence; he therefore suggests that Rheged was situated in a strategic location guarding the Stainmore pass and the approach route from Deira into Cumbria.

The divergent interpretations demonstrate the difficulty in proposing an early political history of this particular area based on documentary evidence. The whole of the area is unlikely to have been occupied by Rheged; in the absence of more detailed information, one familiar name has been used to fill a large gap in the map. Hints at other dynasties in the region suggest further contenders: the *Annales Cambriae*, for example, record in AD 595 the death of King Dunod, son of Pabo, who has loosely been associated with Papcastle in the Derwent valley (Phythian-Adams 1996: 49). In south-west Scotland, place-name evidence, specifically the distribution of the Gaelic *sliabh* (mountain) has been used to suggest Irish influence, equated in Argyll with the Irish kingdom of Dál Riata and showing a dense distribution on the Rhinns of Galloway (Nicolaisen 2001: 51–60). The date of this place-name element has, however, been called into doubt (Taylor 2002), and there remains no documentary evidence for specific kingdoms in this area prior to the Northumbrian expansion.

In later years, Rheged came into the sphere of Northumbrian interest, and historical references increase. The date of Northumbrian domination over Rheged remains debated, ranging from the reign of Æthelfrith (AD 592–616) to the early eighth century and the reign of Ecgfrith (AD 682–709); a gradual, staged process has also been advocated (Phythian-Adams 1996: 50–51). Rhun, son of Urien, is recorded in the *Historia Brittonum* and the *Annales Cambriae* as having been involved in the baptism of King Edwin in the early seventh century, contradicting Bede, who records only the involvement of Bishop Paulinus. Less than a decade later, Riemmelth, granddaughter of Urien, is recorded in both the *Historia Brittonum* and the Durham *Liber Vitae* as the first wife of King Oswy of Northumbria, a marriage which produced Ahlfrith, subking of Deira until AD 664. From this point, historical references to Rheged cease, and the British kingdom is considered to have been subsumed into a wider Northumbria at this date (MacQuarrie 1993: 17–18). St Cuthbert's visit to Carlisle in the latter part of the seventh century attests to communication within the wider network of churches in east and west by that date (Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, IV, 29).

Evidence for Christianity before the Northumbrian Expansion

The historical evidence for this western area is patchy and reveals little of the political boundaries that existed. We turn, therefore, to the available evidence of

Christian monuments, to ascertain whether any further insight can be gained. Evidence for early Christianity in this region is not prolific, but by drawing together excavated evidence, inscriptions, sculpture, and place-names, then broad 'zones' of activity can be identified in the landscape. It must be noted at this point that the evidence is frequently difficult to date, and broad parameters have been assumed to draw these conclusions.

The earliest evidence from the study area is represented by the excavated site at Whithorn (Hill 1997) and the fifth- and sixth-century inscribed stones of Whithorn and Kirkmadrine, which occur in the far west of the study area. Late fifth- to sixth-century Whithorn has been interpreted as an early *monasterium*, developing with a concentric plan, craftworking areas, and a burial ground. If considered closely, evidence for the specifically monastic function of the site can be questioned, but there was doubtless a settlement there, and the presence of imported ceramics and of craftworking provides evidence for a central place of some note (Campbell and others 1997; Hill 1997).

The inscriptions of the surrounding area provide more secure evidence for Christian investment (Figure 4). The earliest stone is the fifth-century Latin inscription from Whithorn, translated as 'We praise thee Lord! Latinus, of thirty-five years, and his daughter of five years, here made a *sinum*. He was a descendant of Barrovadus'. The *sinum* has been interpreted as a reference to the *chi-rho* monogram on the stone (Craig 1997a: 615). Of slightly later date are three stones from Kirkmadrine, on the Rhinns peninsula, a (now lost) stone from Low Curghie, and a stone found south of Whithorn, known as the Petrus stone. These stones have been dated to the mid- to late sixth-century, or possibly the early seventh century (Sims-Williams 2003; Forsyth 2005; cf. Thomas 1992a: 9; 1992b: 7). The stones from Kirkmadrine all exhibit a similar form, being decorated with encircled *chi-rhos*. Kirkmadrine 1 reads 'here lie the holy (*sancti*) and outstanding priests (*sacerdotes*), that is, Viventius and Mavorius'; Kirkmadrine 2 is incomplete, reading *…S ET FLORENTIUS*; Kirkmadrine 3 bears the inscription *INITIUM/ ET FINIS* — the beginning and the end (Thomas 1992b: 2). The stone from Low Curghie is lost but is recorded to have commemorated a subdeacon (*SUBDIACONUS*?) called Ventidius (Reid 1957–58). The final stone of this group is a stone found at the farm of Mains, to the south of Whithorn, which reads *LOCI/PETRI APV/STOLI*, translated as 'of the *locus* of Peter the Apostle' (Thomas 1992b: 3; Craig 1997a: 616–17).

These stones belong to a wider epigraphic tradition evidenced on the west coast of Britain and Ireland and can be studied within the context of a wider, late Antique tradition (Handley 2001). However, these inscriptions were created
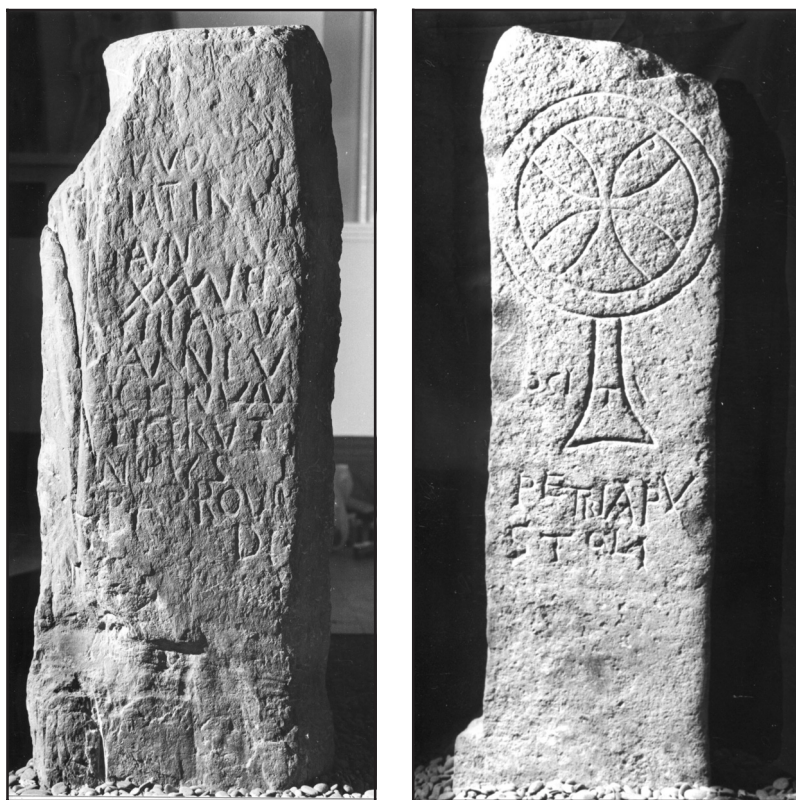
Figure 4. The Latinus stone (left) and the Petrus stone (right). Photographs by N. Toop.

within a local context, and recent studies of specific inscriptions (Craig 1997a; Thomas 1998; Handley 2001), particularly the work of Kathryn Forsyth (2005; 2009), have highlighted the significance of these monuments and the context in which they were created.

The famous *Latinus* inscription attests to a sophisticated, literate element at Whithorn. Although the level of meaning in the layout itself is open to debate (Thomas 1998: 104–23; Clancy 2000; Higgitt 2003: 328), it is evident from the extended Latinate form of the inscription that this stone was commissioned by a well-educated, high-status elite. Latinus's name is Latinized, and many aspects of the inscription itself, including commemoration of a child and age at death, hark back to Roman epigraphic traditions (Forsyth 2005: 115). These inscriptions as a group belong to a wider tradition of inscription of west coast Britain and Ireland. Forsyth (2005: 115) has noted that the name of Latinus's ancestor, *Barrovadus*,

might suggest Irish origins, and the monument might therefore be interpreted as representing a local king, of previous Irish origin, who had chosen to draw on the influences and affectations of the Roman world. Hill (2001) has suggested that Whithorn formed a central place within a polyfocal settlement on the Machars peninsula, with a coastal base at the multivallate site of the Isle of Whithorn. The possibly later *Petrus* stone may have marked the route between Whithorn and the Isle; *locus* is a term which may have been used to mark a holy place or the site of a burial (Craig 1997a: 616).

Attributes of the inscriptions of the Kirkmadrine stones, including their lack of patronymics, have been used to suggest that the memorials were retrospective and may represent the presence of relics or a cult centre at the site (Forsyth 2005). Indications that cults may have developed around individuals considered holy have been noted in Wales (Edwards 2002: 229), and the use of the term *sanctus*, while not conclusive, may indicate such a function. The Kirkmadrine stones could be seen as the development of a specific focus of activity, distinct from Whithorn, but drawing on similar traditions and media of investment.

These stones, when mapped within the area being considered, represent two foci of activity within the western extremities of south-west Scotland, on the Machars and the Rhinns peninsulas (Plate Ia). They could be argued to form a 'zone' of activity, employing the same medium of inscription to mark Christian activity, but each serving a specific focus within a local context. The fact that the inscriptions are not shared with Dumfriesshire or Cumbria suggests that these communities looked elsewhere, within a maritime context, for their cultural references. The hint that Latinus may have had Irish ancestry provides a tantalizing indication that this area had strong links with Ireland, as has been asserted in previous studies (Thomas 1967: 177–83; Nicolaisen 2001: 51–60).

Links between the western part of the study area and Ireland are further supported when the monuments of the area are placed within their Irish Sea context. A possible ogham inscription has been identified at Lochnaw, on the Rhinns peninsula (CISP: LONAW1/1; Forsyth 1996: 519–25), drawing parallels with monuments in Ireland and on the Isle of Man. Motifs found in the Rhinns and Machars are common within the northern Irish Sea area; specifically, forms of the monogram *chi-rho* occur both on the Rhinns inscribed stones and in County Antrim, whilst the cross-of-arcs and marigold designs demonstrate strong links between Whithorn and Maughold on the Isle of Man (Trench-Jellicoe 1980; 2002). Taken together, these Christian monuments suggest that the communities in the Rhinns and the Machars of south-west Scotland should not be considered part of the British kingdom of Rheged, but part of a westward, maritime-orientated society.

The idea of a 'western zone' of investment within the study area is strengthened when simpler, cross-incised monuments are added to the map. Although notoriously difficult to date, at least some of these stones are likely to be pre-eighth century in date, demonstrated archaeologically by the occurrence of examples in seventh-century contexts at Whithorn (Craig 1997b: 439; cf. Henderson 1987). Cross-incised stones have been assigned varying functions and may have served to mark significant points in the landscape, churches, burials, or boundaries in the landscape. The latter function is suggested in south-west Scotland by two stones at Laggangarn which mark a low mound, of possible prehistoric date, and are incised with crosses. This monument lies close to the boundary of Wigtownshire and Carrick, close to Tarf Water, and near earthworks which have come to be known as the Deil's Dyke. These factors together might suggest that the area formed some type of boundary zone, and the place-name might further suggest such an association, as Brooke (1991: 311) links the fifteenth-century recording of the name *Lekkyngiorow* with the Welsh *llech-yn-gorau*, or 'stones at the boundaries'. The presence of cross-marked stones might be interpreted as a gradual Christianization of the landscape, as an elite religion permeated through society.

Cross-incised stones within the study area show a westerly distribution; there is a notable absence of these monuments from the coastal region of Cumbria and the Eden valley, apart from isolated examples from Addingham (Bailey 1960) and Ruthwell (Radford 1949–50). Within the northern Irish Sea area, however, such monuments are common in northern Ireland (Hamlin 1976; 1982) and occur frequently on the Isle of Man (Kermode 1907).

Place-names add a final dimension to the distribution map (see Map 9). If the Gaelic element *cill*, loosely translated as cell or church, is added to the map, the idea of a western zone is further enhanced, with a boundary identifiable at the River Cree and a less dense distribution extending to the River Nith (information from Watson 1926; MacQueen 1973; 2002; Nicolaisen 2001: 184). Although the antiquity of every *cill* name may be called into doubt (Grant 2004), these have been interpreted as evidence for an early strand of place-names (Nicolaisen 2001: 183). Particularly strong concentrations of evidence can be seen on the Rhinns peninsula and around the site of Whithorn which would indicate higher levels of Christian investment around major central places.

Political Alignments

The cumulative map of Christian investment on the Rhinns and the Machars appears to represent evidence for a zone of investment which had a strong westward

orientation from at least the fifth century, continuing into the following centuries. All of the elements mapped are shared with Counties Down and Antrim and the Isle of Man, indicating that communities in the west of mainland Britain chose to look towards a maritime region for alliance and influence. Such a hypothesis fits comfortably with the geographical proximity of Galloway to Northern Ireland; an Irish-influenced community on the Rhinns may have provided the context for the Irish ancestry hinted by the *Latinus* stone. On the Isle of Man, finds of ogam also indicate the likelihood of enduring connections between Ireland and landfalls to the east.

The idea of contact within this zone is further indicated by the movements and activities of the saints of the sixth and seventh centuries. The activity of individual saints such as *Uinniau* (believed to be the true focus of the cult of St Ninian; Clancy 2001), Maccuil, or Columba highlight the movement of British and Irish clergy across the seaways. *Uinniau*'s cult *foci* occur at Movilla, Clonard, and Whithorn; the idea of a shared bishopric between Movilla and Whithorn is a highly attractive one in this context (Clancy 2001: 26).

The idea of maritime communities sharing cultural attributes and political affiliations across the water is not surprising, particularly when Dál Ríata is brought into the picture. When it emerges into history, the kingdom of Dál Ríata occupies a region to the north of Galloway, in the region of Argyll. Traditionally, this has been regarded as evidence for Irish colonization, but Ewan Campbell (2001) has suggested that the area that later became Dál Ríata was, from the outset, part of Irish society, linked to Ireland through kinship links and maritime communication, and divided from Brittonic society by the less passable uplands. Campbell's tentative boundary for a 'Goidelic' zone provides two options: to include the Rhinns and the Isle of Man, or to place them within the Brittonic zone. The evidence from Galloway might be used to argue that, whether the result of migration or of shared cultural history, the Rhinns and the Isle of Man formed part of a wider Irish zone from a very early period. The concept of a maritime culture or kingdom is a familiar one in the early medieval period; communication by boat could have been easier and less hazardous than overland routes (Carver 1990). Journeys from Ireland to the Rhinns and Man would have been short; perception of unity would have been further enhanced by the intervisibility of these landscapes.

Within this zone, the site of Whithorn stands out as a key centre, although the political milieu of the site is largely unknown, as are the identities of its leaders themselves. However, if the context is considered in terms of location and cultural heritage, then the unique and advantageous situation that the site occupied becomes apparent. The Machars peninsula, intervisible with Ireland, the Isle of Man,

and Cumbria, occupies a strategic location in the northern Irish Sea, placing it centrally within an important maritime zone and allowing influence over the sea-borne traffic of the Irish Sea and participation in the communication and exchange networks of the western seaways.

Access to maritime resources would have been advantageous, but it may have been the landward location of Whithorn, at the extremities of the previous Roman world, that also provided a political precondition for the development of a stable and wealthy elite. This area occupied the edges of the militarized Roman world, in an area where 'buffer' territories may well have been established and reciprocal relationships formed in order to maintain a stable status quo. Although a long way overland from the Roman *civitas* capital at Carlisle, western Galloway would have been just a few hours' journey by sea, and hostile relations would have placed strain on coastal defences. Ptolemy's map places the Novantae and Selgovae to the west and east of the Nith respectively (Strang 1997: 25), and it is possible that the distribution of Roman exotica in this area (Hunter 2001; Wilson 2001) represents relationships between the Roman militarized zone and the Novantae or their successors. Roman activity in Galloway is considered to have been sporadic and confined to short-lived, specific campaigns; the area may have retained independence, and accumulated wealth, through peaceful alliance.

It is not suggested that this zone was a homogeneous one, and although a shared ideological 'package' appears to have been adopted, different communities adapted it to their own ends. The distribution map of this western zone is, in fact, much more textured, with concentrations of particular attributes, such as the focus of burial and inscription on the Rhinns and the central place at Whithorn, providing hints of smaller divisions within the landscape.

The Blank Areas on the Maps

The Christian evidence from western Galloway contrasts with the evidence, or the lack of it, in Cumbria and Dumfriesshire, where no inscriptions of this date have been encountered, cross-incised stones are very scarce, and *cill* names are absent. Place-names of ecclesiastical significance are represented only by 'eccles' names, deriving from a British loanword from Latin, *egles* (Barrow 1981). Admittedly, three names do not make a strong distribution, but they do show an easterly trend, at the sites of Eccles, Ecclefechan, and Terregles (Map 9). No churches of early date have been encountered, and the potentially early cropmark enclosure at Ninekirks Brougham has yet to reveal clear evidence of early date or ecclesiastical function.
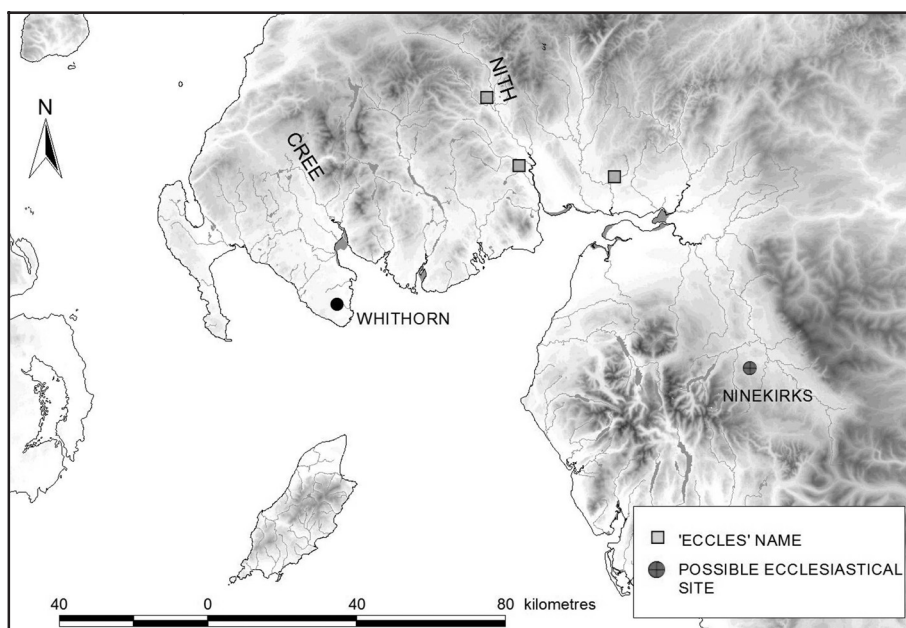
Map 9. Evidence for early Christianity in Cumbria and Dumfriesshire.

Given the recent interpretation of St Ninian as a Northumbrian creation (Clancy 2001; Fraser 2002), the place-name may in fact be more indicative of Northumbrian investment.

One of the most notable aspects of this lacuna is that the earliest evidence for Christian monumentality does not occur in the more Romanized areas where Christianity was pre-existent. Christianity is known to have been prevalent in the area during the Roman period, when Cumbria, and to a lesser extent Dumfriesshire, formed part of a militarized zone (Thomas 1981). A lost *chi-rho* from Maryport and a number of late Roman inscriptions at Maryport and Old Carlisle would seem to attest to the integration of Christianity into a continuing epigraphic tradition (Petts 2003b: 150–54; Forsyth 2005: 114). However, it is these areas where fifth- to seventh-century evidence for Christianity is absent, despite Thomas's hypothesis (1971: 16) that sub-Roman dioceses survived within the area, and the writings of St Patrick which, although insecurely located, suggest the continuation of Christianity into post-Roman society.

Basing conclusions on negative evidence is always dangerous, but for the purpose of argument, it is assumed that this lacuna is real. Woolf (2003: 356) has previously observed a large zone throughout the country where Christian monuments do not

occur, situated between the furnished Anglo-Saxon graves to the east and the epigraphic evidence of western Britain. Such a zone cannot be attributed entirely to factors of discovery, and so reasons to explain a lack of investment in Christianity must be sought. Three broad hypotheses can be proposed: firstly, that the population were not Christian; secondly, that they were Christian but did not command sufficient resources or economic power to overtly invest in Christianity; thirdly, that they were Christian but chose not to express this monumentally, possibly adhering to a belief that did not require investment in earthly monuments. Inevitably, no clear-cut answer can be drawn from the available evidence, but it seems likely that a combination of factors can be proposed which would have created the notable contrast between the lack of Christianity in the Romanized areas and the more western areas where society appears to have been organized differently.

If the monumentality of Galloway is seen as an indication of a stable elite expressing their position in a maritime zone, then the lack of such evidence in the east might be seen to indicate that the communities here saw themselves as different and that their society functioned in a different way. Without more substantial evidence than a blank map, it is difficult to draw firm conclusions. For the sake of narrative, however, the following hypothesis is suggested. As the Roman militarized zone fragmented, Christianity was not key to stressing individual identity or power. Christianity might have survived in places, but the wider populace did not use the Church as an arena for investment. These appear to have been volatile times — economic resources would have been directed towards strategies with more immediate political rewards, including warfare and land-taking, rather than religious statements. In terms of monumentality, British polities may have wished to contrast their own forms of investment with the non-Christian Germanic communities to the east *and* with the Christianized Irish communities to the west. A combination of such factors could have resulted in the apparent absence of monumentality evident in this and succeeding periods. It must be noted again that the assumption is not being made that the lack of investment in Christianity represents a united, homogeneous culture, simply that the communities in this area, by sharing aspects of a common cultural heritage, may have been affected in the same way in terms of ideological strategies.

Northumbrian Expansion

The scene is finally set, therefore, for the expansion of Northumbrian influence into the west. To the west of Galloway, we can envisage an Irish, Christian society,

while further east, British communities occupied an area around the Solway and down into Cumbria, including the kingdom of Rheged. The latter communities may have been Christian, but did not invest in the same forms of monumentality. Therefore, Northumbria encountered more that one polity within the west; interaction with each will have varied too.

Anglian expansion is demonstrated by evidence for the encroaching ecclesiastical network of the Northumbrian church, best evidenced by ornate stone sculpture, which corresponds well with place-name evidence (Nicolaisen 2001: 96; Hough 1997) (Map 10). Excavations at the ecclesiastical sites of Dacre (Leech 1982; Leech and Newman 1985) and Hoddom (Lowe 2006) represent rare evidence for the Christian centres which would have invested in such monumentality.

When the Christian monuments are drawn together with historical sources, evidence appears to demonstrate Northumbrian influence all the way across to Whithorn; Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* (V, 23) records that the numbers of the faithful had so increased that a new episcopal see had been established at Whithorn, with the first bishop being Pecthelm. This reference has been key to discussing the Northumbrian influence and has been used to suggest that ecclesiastical control, and by inference political dominance, extended this far by at least the early eighth century. Archaeological evidence from Whithorn would seem to support this conclusion. Excavations in the 1980s revealed a major change in the layout and material culture of the site around the eighth century (Hill 1997: 134). A new, rectilinear structural complex was established and, along with changes in coinage and metalwork, suggests a shift in the orientation of the site towards the east.

However, while this evidence would suggest far-reaching Northumbrian influence, extending to Whithorn, the distribution of monumental evidence is in fact more limited. Derek Craig's work has shown that when monuments of Anglian influence are mapped across the region, a notable gap occurs around Whithorn, and the River Cree is identified as a monumental boundary at this time (1991: 55; 1992: 271–72).

Although frequently used together to describe Northumbrian expansion, the two types of evidence for Christian investment — historical and sculptural — do not sit comfortably together. It could be argued that this is simply reading too much into what are essentially incomplete bodies of evidence. However, both the sculpture and the place-names of these regions have been subject to comprehensive study (Watson 1926; Bailey and Cramp 1988; Craig 1991; 1992; Nicolaisen 2001), which would suggest that the discrepancy is real and provides significant information about Northumbria's activities in the west. In one area, Northumbrian investment is represented in the landscape by widespread monuments, likely to
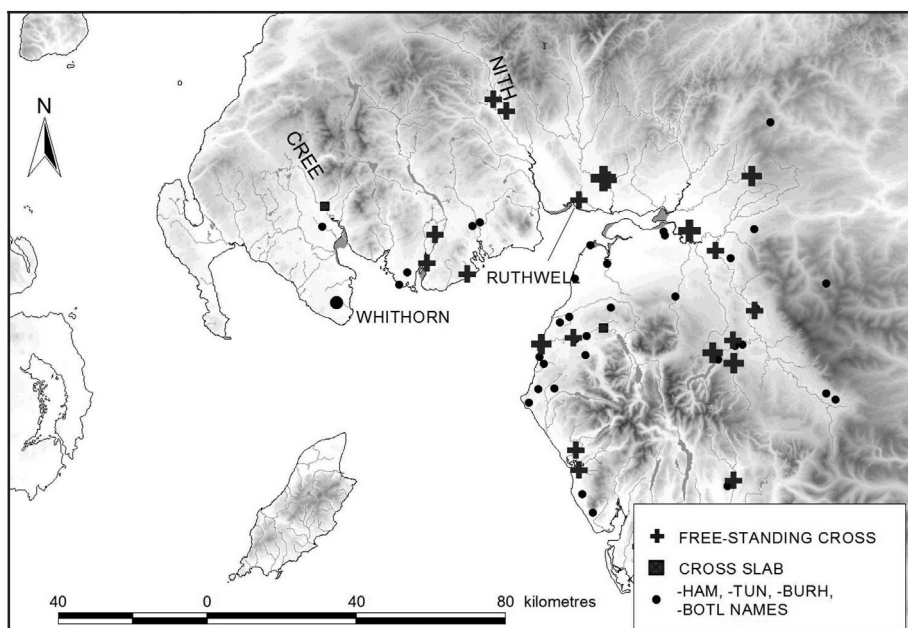
Map 10. Northumbrian monumentality and place-names in the west.

represent major ecclesiastical centres such as those which have been investigated archaeologically at Dacre and Hoddom. To the west, Northumbrian influence appears to have been targeted specifically at Whithorn, and the surrounding landscape lacks further evidence for monumentality. By looking at each zone in turn, the nature of the interaction represented can be considered and the significance of this apparent dichotomy explored.

Northumbrian Monumentality in Cumbria and South-West Scotland

If Northumbrian Christianity, as is assumed, spread gradually from east to west, then it would have reached Cumbria and Dumfriesshire in the first instance. In these areas, Christianity is represented by sophisticated and ornate free-standing crosses and slabs that are well known and well studied throughout northern England (Bailey and Cramp 1988). They represent high levels of economic investment and make strong statements of power and influence within the landscape. The erection of these monuments has long been understood as a territorial, as well as religious, statement and is clearly an indication of strong, overarching Northumbrian

political influence in the area, whether representing an incoming elite or the result of emulation by local leaders.

Granting newly acquired land for the establishment of ecclesiastical sites would have provided an effective means of gaining a secure foothold in a new territory, demonstrating the way that the Anglian monasteries and monuments of the west served as 'beachheads' or markers of political advancement (Phythian-Adams 1996: 61–65). Historical sources provide a record, albeit fragmentary, of grants of this type to notable individuals, which would then have been brought into the wider networks of the Northumbrian church (see, for example, Eddius Stephanus, *Life of Wilfrid*, 17). The important role that the Northumbrian churches and monuments played is reflected in their strategic and highly visible locations. If the distribution of monuments is considered, these are by no means marginal sites, but some of the prime settlement areas of the west — around the coastal plain and the Solway and in the Nith, Annan, and Eden valleys. That this was not simply an elite takeover but involved more widespread movement of people is suggested by Anglian place-names in the same area (O'Sullivan 1980: 95–100; Brooke 1991; Nicolaisen 2001: 89–102). Significant routeways were chosen, represented by Roman roads or major rivers (Phythian-Adams 1996: 48–56): the Derwent valley would have provided access to the natural port of Workington, and the route leading into the Eden valley at Penrith is marked by the sculpture of Brigham and Isel. Similarly, the Nith valley, which formed a routeway through Dumfriesshire from at least Roman times, seems to have been claimed through ecclesiastical investment (RCAHMS 1997: 184). Other sites lie on or near coastal ports, like the monuments at Irton and Waberthwaite, which mark the presence of an Anglian elite or their allies around the natural harbours of Ravenglass and Morecambe Bay. The establishment of churches in key agricultural areas would have provided a means of dominating the main areas of economic resources and settlement. Favoured Northumbrian saints, such as Oswald and Cuthbert, would have supplanted those of local significance in many places; the distribution of their dedications mirrors those of the monuments (Tudor 1984; Brooke 1991: 298–99; South 2002).

The correlation with Roman centres is also notable. The active promotion of a new Roman ecclesiastical orthodoxy would have justified their ecclesiastical expansion into the British territories and would have been visually strengthened by the appropriation of pre-existing Roman sites; the ornate cross in the fort at Bewcastle is an obvious example, and the ecclesiastical centres at Penrith, Brigham, and possibly Ninekirks are all located in close proximity to significant Roman centres.

   The monumental evidence extends throughout Cumbria, but is confined in south-west Scotland primarily to areas east of the Nith and a restricted distribution around Kirkcudbright. Within the latter area, Brooke (1991: 295, 315–16) has used place-names and church dedications to define enclaves of Anglian settlement which appear to have coexisted with British areas.

   The distribution of Northumbrian monuments correlates with the area where evidence for Irish-influenced Christianity is lacking, suggesting that the Northumbrian advance was successful only within a predefined area. It would appear that expansion occurred through taking control of discrete polities or individual kingdoms and that the boundaries of investment reflect the extents of these territories. The major role played by the Church in this process is reflected in the idea that individual territories were placed under the control of specific Northumbrian dioceses; Rheged, for example, is suggested to have been subsumed as part of the diocese of Ripon. The high level of monumentality in the Derwent valley, which formed its northern boundary, may have represented the demarcation of a territorial unit, as well as investment along a major routeway. The appropriation of St Ninian at Whithorn may have provided a context for the establishment of Ninianic dedications in both Cumbria and further afield, serving a similar function. Phythian-Adams (1996: 72) notes that the two sites dedicated to St Ninian in Cumbria (Ninekirks Brougham and Ninewells, near Brampton) occur on the boundary of the sees of Lindisfarne and Hexham (within the western, Lindisfarne diocese).

   If the sculpture itself is used as an indication, the Northumbrian Christianity that was established was sophisticated and economically well founded. Christian investment played a significant role in the acquisition and marking of territory across Cumbria and into south-west Scotland, but is decreased beyond the Nith and does not occur beyond the Cree, suggesting that these rivers represent significant boundaries. Some of the most elaborate monuments of the period, Ruthwell and Bewcastle, occur in this western region, with the westernmost monument being the slab at Minnigaff. The complex iconography of these monuments may have been understood only by an educated few, but to the remaining populace, churches and their monuments would have been read as statements of permanent Christian influence, and while exhibiting local styles and influences, the monumental form chosen reflects the influence of Northumbria. Christianity, and Christian monuments, appears to have been used to make a strong claim to land and power but not, apparently, all the way to Whithorn.

Northumbrian Christianity beyond the River Cree

Further west, beyond the River Cree at Whithorn, it seems that the written word, rather than stone, was used to monumentalize Northumbrian influence, suggesting a very different relationship between Northumbrians and the existing elite.

Only a few early texts are available for Whithorn, and these are mainly concerned with the life of the legendary founder of the site, St Ninian (Hill 1997). The sources, including a passage by Bede and a poetic life known as the *Miracula*, date to the eighth century (Wade-Evans 1949–50; MacQueen 1990; 1991: 17; MacQuarrie 1997: 50–73). The documents record many traditions surrounding the fifth-century St Ninian, who apparently built the first church at Whithorn, was responsible for the conversion of the southern Picts, and had various links with Rome and St Martin. This made him a highly suitable candidate for the Northumbrian church, and accordingly, later lives record the miracles that occurred at his shrine during the eighth century (MacQueen 1990).

Recent reassessment of the historical evidence has, however, shed new light on St Ninian. Thomas Clancy (2001) has argued that St Ninian was actually a Northumbrian creation, arising from a scribal error in recording the traditions of an existing cult of St *Uinniau* (see also Fraser 2002). In Galloway, there is a considerable amount of toponymic and dedicational evidence for the popularity of St Finnian, or St *Uinniau*, a British saint who has been equated with Finnian of Movilla / Finnian of Clonard, and is variously credited with a sixth-century Penitential and identified as a correspondent of Gildas and a teacher of Columba (Ó Riain 1981; 1984; Dumville 1984; Sperber 1997). St Ninian is conspicuously absent in these areas.

James Fraser (2002) has suggested that the Northumbrian hagiography promoting St Ninian and Northumbrian Whithorn was in fact created at Hexham, geographically removed from the centre itself. Fraser has suggested that this shows a degree of separation between the Northumbrian see and the surrounding area. The apparent need to adopt an existing cult, the lack of connection with local tradition, and a deficit of monumental investment all suggest that Northumbrian presence on the Machars was not so easily consolidated as it may have been in other areas. The eighth-century developments at Whithorn, represented historically by the establishment of the bishopric of Pecthelm and archaeologically by a reorganization of the ecclesiastical site, cannot be considered a simple continuation of the Northumbrian expansion westwards.

The Mechanism of Northumbrian Expansion Westwards

If all of the evidence for Christian monumentality within this study area is drawn together, a simplified narrative can be reconstructed, which shows the Northumbrian expansion as a series of interactions, rather than a gradual, uninterrupted movement from east to west (Plate Ib).

As an Anglian elite extended beyond the Pennines, they encountered a fragmented patchwork of British kingdoms, one of which must have been Rheged. By various means, including military strength, marriage, and alliance, these smaller polities were subsumed and Northumbrian Christianity was imposed. The lack of earlier Christian monumentality suggests that the church that they encountered was not necessarily a dynamic one, and no evidence for monumental discourse has been identified. The British clergy, possibly like their contemporary elite, were displaced or subsumed within a new political system; their churches were granted to incoming churchmen. The monumental evidence suggests that such a network of sites and monuments was gradually extended across Galloway, decreasing west of the Nith.

This contrasts with the area beyond the Cree, where a very different political situation was encountered. The evidence from Whithorn suggests a stable, hierarchical society. A Christian infrastructure was in place, and cult centres had become established within the landscape, patronized by elites with communication links within the Irish Sea zone and the Continent. It is potentially the case that a maritime Irish overkingship extended across the sea, as it did in Argyll to the North.

At the Cree valley, therefore, Northumbrian expansion seems to have reached a significant boundary. The Whithorn community accepted a new bishop, but, given the wider context, this might not have been due to coercion (Wakeford 1998: 82–85). Perhaps this should instead be considered as a form of ecclesiastical alliance, motivated by the fact that the Whithorn community recognized that the political balance was tipping towards the rising kingdoms of the east, rather than the Irish polities of the west. In this scenario, Pecthelm could have arrived on invitation. After all, Aidan's arrival at Lindisfarne in a previous century was instigated by Northumbria and did not herald Dál Ríatan conquest. The fact that Pecthelm himself had strong Irish links has been noted in several studies and was surely no coincidence.

Interaction in the far west, therefore, seems to have been quite different and occurred between incomer and existing elite on a more level footing. The relationship may have been a volatile one, but by forging links through the church, could be partly stabilized. The hagiography and texts created by the Northumbrians,

suggesting a strong influence in this area, may indicate more about their ambitions than their actual achievements. Whithorn has been described before as a 'bridgehead', and its establishment does seem to have been engineered to push the frontiers of Northumbria westwards, apparently with mixed success.

The Nith valley and Stewartry of Kirkcudbright therefore formed a 'monumental frontier' between an encroaching Northumbrian monumentality in the east and the Machars and Rhinns polities of the west. Northumbrian influence within this zone may have been more restricted, occurring in specific areas (Brooke 1991). Not for nothing are some of the finest examples of sculptural monumentality found in these western areas of Northumbrian Christianity, at Ruthwell, Bewcastle, and Hoddom (Cramp 1999: 8). The Ruthwell Cross, in particular, standing at one of the westernmost areas of investment, has been seen as a strong symbol of this Christianity, acting as a conciliatory monument between Irish Christianity in the west and Roman orthodoxy in the east (Cramp 1995; Wood 2003). This provides an example of the trends observed in anthropological work; specific areas of conflict and competition lead to the need to express overtly clear and unambiguous identities, and investment is strongest at the point where interaction occurs (Hodder 1982: 85). The level of monumentality evident in Dumfriesshire illuminates an area of confrontation between two distinct ideologies, of the Northumbrian kingdom to the east and the polities of the west.

The marked contrast between the sophisticated Anglian monuments and the simple incised stones of the west reflects a shift in the balance of investment within the Irish Sea area. Whilst the initial establishment of ecclesiastical sites demonstrated a high level of investment in the west, the Church appears to have stabilized during this period. Potentially this reflects changing access to wealth; evidence suggests that importation of goods to the Irish Sea had declined, while Northumbria's international links saw the importing of glass and new building technologies, and an artistic flourishing.

The important role played by Christianity in political interaction has been increasingly studied and has proved useful in exploring this particular area. By picking apart the available evidence for ecclesiastical activity, hints are provided about the shifting political alignments of the area. Using evidence for monumentality, therefore, it is possible to create a broad-brush picture of the political and ideological landscape of the west during the sixth to eighth centuries. Investment in Christianity allows broad divisions to be reconstructed within the landscape, and although the fragmentary historical sources do not provide labels for all of these polities, the evidence provides a more detailed and textured map of this

otherwise poorly documented area. This is necessarily a simplified view, but one which can hopefully be supported or otherwise with more detailed study.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviation

CISP = Celtic Inscribed Stones Project, <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/archaeology/cisp/database/>

References

Bailey, R. 1960. 'The Addingham Cross Incised Slab', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, 60: 37–41

Bailey, R., and R. Cramp. 1988. *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, vol. II: *Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire-north-of-the-Sands* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

Barrow, G. W. S. 1981. 'The Childhood of Scottish Christianity: A Note on Some Place-Name Evidence', *Scottish Studies*, 25: 1–15

Brooke, D. 1991. 'The Northumbrian Settlements in Galloway and Carrick: An Historical Assessment', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 121: 295–327

Brumfiel, E. M., and T. K. Earle (eds). 1987. *Specialization, Exchange and Complex Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Campbell, E. 2001. 'Were the Scots Irish?', *Antiquity*, 75: 285–92

Campbell, E., and others. 1997. 'The Early Medieval Imports', in P. Hill, *Whithorn and St Ninian: The Excavation of a Monastic Town, 1984–91* (Stroud: Sutton), 297–326

Carver, M. O. H. 1990. 'Pre-Viking Traffic in the North Sea', in *Maritime Celts, Frisians and Saxons*, ed. by S. McGrail, CBA Research Report, 71 (York: Council for British Archaeology), 117–25

———. 2001. 'Why That? Why There? Why Then? The Politics of Early Medieval Monumentality', in *Image and Power in the Archaeology of Early Medieval Britain: Essays in Honour of Rosemary Cramp*, ed. by H. Hamerow and A. MacGregor (Oxford: Oxbow), 1–22

Cessford, C. 1999. 'Relations between the Britons of Southern Scotland and Anglo-Saxon Northumbria', in *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. by J. Hawkes and S. Mills (Stroud: Sutton), 150–60

Chadwick, H. M. 1949. *Early Scotland, the Picts, the Scots and the Welsh of Southern Scotland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Clancy, T. O. 2000. 'Review of Charles Thomas, *Christian Celts: Messages and Images*', *Innes Review*, 51.1: 85–88

———. 2001. 'The Real St Ninian', *Innes Review*, 52.1: 1–28

Clarkson, T. 1994. 'The Solway Region AD 400–650 and the Kingdom of Rheged' (unpublished master's thesis, University of Manchester)

Craig, D. 1991. 'Pre-Norman Sculpture in Galloway: Some Territorial Implications', in *Galloway: Land and Lordship*, ed. by R. Oram and G. P. Stell (Edinburgh: Society for Northern Studies), 44–62

———. 1992. 'The Distribution of Pre-Norman Sculpture in Southwest Scotland: Provenance, Ornament and Regional Groups' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Durham)

———. 1997a. 'The Provenance of the Early Christian Inscriptions of Galloway', in P. Hill, *Whithorn and St Ninian: The Excavation of a Monastic Town, 1984–91* (Stroud: Sutton), 614–20

———. 1997b. 'The Sculptured Stones', in P. Hill, *Whithorn and St Ninian: The Excavation of a Monastic Town, 1984–91* (Stroud: Sutton), 433–41

Cramp, R. 1995. *Whithorn and the Northumbrian Expansion Westwards*, Third Whithorn Lecture, 17 September 1994 (Whithorn: Friends of Whithorn Trust)

———. 1999. 'The Northumbrian Identity', in *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. by J. Hawkes and S. Mills (Stroud: Sutton), 1–11

De Marrais, E., and others. 1996. 'Ideology, Materialization and Power Strategies', *Current Anthropology*, 37.1: 15–31

Driscoll, S. T. 2000. 'Christian Monumental Sculpture and Ethnic Expression in Early Scotland', in *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain*, ed. by W. O. Frazer and A. Tyrell (Leicester: Leicester University Press), 233–52

Dumville, D. 1977. 'Sub-Roman Britain: History and Legend', *History*, 62: 173–92

———. 1984. 'Gildas and Uinniau', in *Gildas: New Approaches*, ed. by M. Lapidge and D. Dumville (Woodbridge: Boydell), 207–14

Earle, T. K. 1997. *How Chiefs Come to Power: The Political Economy in Prehistory* (Stanford: Stanford University Press)

Edwards, N. 2002. 'Celtic Saints and Early Medieval Archaeology', in *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West*, ed. by A. Thacker and R. Sharpe (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 225–65

Forsyth, K. 1996. 'The Ogham Inscriptions of Scotland: An Edited Corpus' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Harvard University)

———. 2005. 'HIC MEMORIA PERPETUA: The Early Inscribed Stones of Southwest Scotland in Context', in *Able Minds and Practiced Hands*, ed. by S. Foster and M. Cross, Society for Medieval Archaeology Series, 23 (Leeds: Society for Medieval Archaeology), 113–34

———. 2009. 'The Latinus Stone: Whithorn's Earliest Christian Monument', in *St Ninian and the Earliest Christianity in Scotland: Papers from the Conference Held by the Friends of the Whithorn Trust in Whithorn on 15th September 2007*, ed. by J. Murray, BAR British Series, 483 (Oxford: Archaeopress), 19–42

Fraser, J. 2002. 'Northumbrian Whithorn and the Making of St Ninian', *Innes Review*, 53.1: 40–59

Gameson, R. 1992. 'The Cost of the Codex Amiatinus', *Notes and Queries*, 39 (March): 2–9

Gondek, M. M. 2006. 'Investing in Sculpture: Power in Early-Historic Scotland', *Medieval Archaeology*, 50: 105–42

Grant, A. 2004. 'A Reconsideration of the Kirk Names in South-West Scotland', *Northern Studies*, 38: 97–121

Hamlin, A. 1976. 'The Archaeology of Early Christianity in the North of Ireland' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Queens University Belfast)

———. 1982. 'Early Irish Stone Carving: Content and Context', in *The Early Church in Western Britain and Ireland: Studies Presented to C. A. Ralegh Radford*, ed. by S. M. Pearce, BAR British Series, 102 (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports), 283–96

Handley, M. A. 2001. 'The Origins of Christian Commemoration in Late Antique Britain', *Early Medieval Europe*, 10.2: 177–99

Henderson, I. 1987. 'Early Christian Monuments of Scotland Displaying a Cross but no Other Ornament', in *The Picts: A New Look at Old Problems*, ed. by A. Small (Dundee: Dundee University), 45–58

Higgitt, J. C. 2003. 'Design and Meaning in Early Medieval Inscriptions in Britain and Ireland', in *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, AD 300–1300*, ed. by M. O. H. Carver (Woodbridge: Boydell), 326–38

Higham, N. J. 1997. *The Convert Kings: Power and Religious Affiliation in Early Anglo-Saxon England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press)

———. 1999. 'Dynasty and Cult: The Utility of Mission to Northumbrian Kings between AD 642 and AD 654', in *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. by J. Hawkes and S. Mills (Stroud: Sutton), 95–104

Hill, P. 1997. *Whithorn and St Ninian: The Excavation of a Monastic Town, 1984–91* (Stroud: Sutton)

Hill, P. H. 2001. 'Whithorn, Latinus and the Origins of Christianity in Northern Britain', in *Image and Power in Early Medieval Archaeology: Essays in Honour of Rosemary Cramp*, ed. by H. Hamerow and A. MacGregor (Oxford: Oxbow), 23–34

Hodder, I. 1982. *Symbols in Action: Ethnoarchaeological Studies of Material Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Hogg, A. H. A. 1946. 'Llwyfenydd', *Antiquity*, 20: 210–11

Hough, C. 1997. 'The Earliest Old English Place-Names in Scotland', *Notes and Queries*, 242.2: 148–50

Hunter, F. 2001. 'Roman and Native in Scotland', *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 14: 28–30

Kermode, P. M. C. 1907 (repr. 1994). *Manx Crosses* (Angus: Pinkfoot Press)

Laing, L., and D. Longley. 2006. *The Mote of Mark: A Dark Age Hillfort in South-West Scotland* (Oxford: Oxbow)

Lane, P. 2001. 'The Archaeology of Christianity in Global Perspective', in *Archaeology and World Religion*, ed. by T. Insoll (London: Routledge), 148–81

Leech, R. H. 1982. 'St Andrew Dacre, Cumbria', *Bulletin of the CBA Churches Committee*, 17 (Winter): 5–7

Leech, R. H., and R. Newman. 1985. 'Excavations at Dacre, 1982–1984: An Interim Report', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, 85: 87–93

Lowe, C. 2006. *Excavations at Hoddom, Dumfriesshire: An Early Ecclesiastical Site in South-West Scotland* (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland)

Lynch, J. H. 1998. *Christianizing Kinship: Ritual Sponsorship in Anglo-Saxon England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press)

MacQuarrie, A. 1993. 'The Kings of Strathclyde, *c.* 400–1018', in *Medieval Scotland: Crown, Lordship, Community. Essays Presented to G. W. S. Barrow*, ed. by A. Grant and K. J. Stringer (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), 1–19

———. 1997. *The Saints of Scotland: Essays in Scottish Church History AD 450–1093* (Edinburgh: Donald)

MacQueen, J. 1973. 'The Gaelic Speakers of Galloway and Carrick', *Scottish Studies*, 17: 16–33

———. 1990. *St Nynia* (Edinburgh: Polygon)

———. 1991. 'The Literary Sources for the Life of St Nynia', in *Galloway: Land and Lordship*, ed. by R. Oram and G. P. Stell (Edinburgh: Society for Northern Studies), 17–25

———. 2002. *Place-Names in the Rhinns of Galloway and Luce Valley* (Stranraer: Stranraer and District Local History Trust)

McCarthy, M. 2002. 'Rheged: An Early Historic Kingdom Near the Solway', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 132: 357–81

Nicolaisen, W. F. H. 2001. *Scottish Place-Names* (London: Batsford)

Nieke, M. R., and H. Duncan. 1988. 'Dalriada: The Establishment and Maintenance of an Early Historic Kingdom in Northern Britain', in *Power and Politics in Early Medieval Britain and Ireland*, ed. by S. T. Driscoll and M. R. Nieke (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), 6–21

Ó Riain, P. 1981. 'The Irish Element in Welsh Hagiographical Tradition', in *Irish Antiquity: Essays and Studies Presented to Professor M. J. O'Kelly*, ed. by D. Ó Corráin (Dublin: Four Courts), 291–303

———. 1984. 'Finnian or Winniau?', in *Ireland and Europe: The Early Church*, ed. by P. Ní Chatháin and M. Richter (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta), 52–57

O'Sullivan, D. 1980. 'A Reassessment of the Early Christian Archaeology of Cumbria' (unpublished master's thesis, University of Durham)

Petts, D. 2003a. 'Votive Deposits and Christian Practice in Late Roman Britain', in *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, AD 300–1300*, ed. by M. O. H. Carver (Woodbridge: Boydell), 109–18

———. 2003b. *Christianity in Roman Britain* (Stroud: Tempus)

Phythian-Adams, C. 1996. *Land of the Cumbrians: A Study in British Provincial Origins AD 400–1200* (Aldershot: Scolar)

Radford, C. A. R. 1949–50. 'An Early Cross at Ruthwell', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 28: 158–60

RCAHMS (Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland). 1997. *Eastern Dumfriesshire: An Archaeological Landscape* (Edinburgh: HMSO)

Reid, R. C. 1957–58. 'The Ventidius Stone, Kirkmaiden', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 36: 184–85

Rollason, D. 2003. *Northumbria, 500–1100: The Creation and Destruction of a Kingdom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Sims-Williams, P. 2003. *The Celtic Inscriptions of Britain: Phonology and Chronology, c. 400–1200* (Oxford: Publications of the Philological Society)

Smyth, A. P. 1984. *Warlords and Holy Men: Scotland AD 80 to 1000* (London: Arnold)

South, T. J. 2002. *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto: A History of Saint Cuthbert and a Record of his Patrimony* (Cambridge: Brewer)

Sperber, I. 1997. 'Lives of St Finnian of Movilla: British Evidence', in *Down: History and Society*, ed. by L. Proudfoot (Dublin: Geography Publications), 85–102

Stevenson, J. 1996. 'Christianising the Northern Barbarians', in *Nordsjøen: Handel, Religion og Politikk*, ed. by J. F. Krøger and H.-R. Naley (Stavanger: Vikingfestivalen), pp. 162–84

Strang, A. 1997. 'Explaining Ptolemy's Britain', *Britannia*, 28: 1–30

Taylor, S. 2002. 'The Element *Sliabh* and the Rhinns of Galloway', *History Scotland*, 2: 49–52

Thomas, C. 1967. 'An Early Christian Cemetery and Chapel on Ardwall Isle, Kirkcudbright', *Medieval Archaeology*, 11: 127–88

———. 1971. *The Early Christian Archaeology of North Britain: The Hunter Marshall Lectures* (London: Oxford University Press)

———. 1981. *Christianity in Roman Britain to AD 500* (London: Batsford)

———. 1992a. *Whithorn's Christian Beginnings* (Whithorn: Friends of Whithorn Trust)

———. 1992b. 'Early Christian Inscriptions of Southern Scotland', *Glasgow Archaeological Journal*, 17: 1–10

———. 1998. *Christian Celts: Messages and Images* (Stroud: Tempus)

Toop, N. J. 2005. 'Dialogues of Power: Ideological Interaction Around the Northern Irish Sea AD 500 to 1000' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of York)

Trench-Jellicoe, R. 1980. 'A New Chi-rho from Maughold, Isle of Man', *Medieval Archaeology*, 24: 202–03

———. 2002. 'Manx Sculptured Monument and the Early Viking Age', in *Mannin Revisited: Twelve Essays on Manx Culture and Environment*, ed. by P. Davey and D. Finlayson (Edinburgh: Scottish Society for Northern Studies), 11–36

Tudor, V. 1984. 'St Cuthbert and Cumbria', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, 84: 67–77

Wade-Evans, A. W. 1949–50. 'Who Was Ninian?', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 28: 79–91

Wakeford, M. 1998. 'The British Church and Anglo-Saxon Expansion: The Evidence of the Saints' Cults' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Durham)

Watson, W. J. 1926 (repr. 1986). *The Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Birlinn)

Whitelock, D. (ed.). 1955. *English Historical Documents c.500–1042* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode)

Williams, I. 1951. 'Wales and the North', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, 51: 73–88

———. 1975. *The Poems of Taliesin* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies)

Wilson, A. 2001. 'The Novantae and Romanisation in Galloway', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 75: 73–131

Wood, I. 2003. 'Ruthwell: Contextual Searches', in *Theorizing Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, ed. by C. Karkov and F. Orton (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press), 104–30

Woolf, A. 2003. 'Britons: From Romans to Barbarians', in *Regna and Gentes: The Relationship between Late Antique and Early Medieval Peoples and Kingdoms in the Transformation of the Roman World*, ed. by H.-W. Goetz, J. Jarnut, and W. Pohl (Leiden: Brill), 345–80

THINKING ABOUT WESTERN NORTHUMBRIA

Felicity H. Clark

> Moreover, it is said that at that time there was such a peace in Britain wherever the *imperium* of King Edwin reached, as the proverb runs today, that if a woman with a newborn child wanted to walk throughout the island from sea to sea (*a mari ad mare*) she would meet no harm. (*HE* II, 16, 192)

Thus Bede, writing *c.* 731 in the *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, relates a proverb about the peace which reigned under King Edwin of Northumbria (r. 616–33). His description of how in Edwin's Northumbria a woman with a newborn child could walk safely 'from sea to sea' implies that the King's '*imperium*' ran from the North Sea coast in the east to the Irish Sea coast in the west. This highlights the importance of considering the full extent of early medieval Northumbria. Whilst much is known about the eastern heartlands of Northumbria, Western Northumbria (which roughly approximates to the modern counties of Cheshire, Lancashire, Cumbria, and the region of south-west Scotland) has been less studied. The aim of this article is to begin to redress that balance. A two-pronged approach to 'thinking about Western Northumbria' will be offered. First, a new model for future research based on the theoretical concept of the frontier will be provided, and second, a number of case studies will be considered to reveal the potential of applying such an approach to both historical and archaeological sources for the period. As the author's interests lie in the period *c.* 600–*c.* 800, examples will be drawn from this time frame. It is not the intention, however, to belie the potential for such studies of Western Northumbria in the Viking Age as well.

Western Northumbria as Frontier

Recent work, for example Higham's study of Northumbria's southern frontier (2006), has focused upon identifying the boundaries, or limits, of Northumbria

and its sub-kingdoms, Deira and Bernicia, in the early medieval period. An understanding of where political and military dominance ran is clearly of value to the historian. Nevertheless, this article will suggest that an appreciation of the theoretical concept of the frontier will allow future scholarship to move beyond such questions. First, though, it is necessary to discuss very briefly the development of the concept of the frontier as a tool for analysis, before considering its application to Western Northumbria. Frontier scholarship was born out of Frederick Jackson Turner's seminal 1893 paper, 'The Significance of the Frontier in American history'. Attempts to sum up what Turner argued in his paper often make recourse to a single sentence in the first paragraph which reads, 'the existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward, explain American development' (Turner 1893: 1). Unfortunately, as important as Turner thought the frontier was in American History, he did not include a precise definition of the term. It is, however, possible to draw out a definition of the frontier as viewed by Turner. It is clear from the famous sentence that Turner saw the frontier as both a place *and* a process: it was an area of 'free land' which was gradually settled and the process of the constant westward movement of frontiersmen which that entailed.

Turner's ideas have been much commented on and much criticized over the years. However, it is this latter idea — of frontier as process — which has been picked up and developed by some of the more recent American scholarship on the concept of the frontier. One work in particular offers a very helpful transferable approach. Cronon, Miles, and Gitlin's 1992 critique of the Turner thesis includes their own suggestions for studying frontiers. Central to their argument is the contention that the American western frontier should not be seen as a 'linear, Darwinian sequence' (Cronon, Miles, and Gitlin 1992: 7). Instead they suggest that six processes can be seen at work in any given frontier situation, although the balance between the six will vary depending upon local factors (Cronon, Miles, and Gitlin 1992: 11–20). Their six processes are 'species shifting' (the movement of peoples of a different biological group), 'market making', 'land taking' (with its inherent myth making about rights to land), 'boundary setting' (not just in relation to land but in all areas of life), 'state forming' (the acceptance of the area into the American state system), and 'self-shaping' (the process by which newly formed local societies came to identify themselves). Although the fifth of these — state forming — is specific to the history of the United States of America, the other five are clearly transferable to other situations which historians might chose to label as 'frontiers'.

It is possible to view Western Northumbria in the early medieval period as such a frontier situation. The narrative of Northumbrian expansion westwards provided

by Bede's *Historia Eccle-siastica* suggests that the area saw a series of North-umbrian incursions, fol-lowed by the incorpora-tion of the region within the kingdom. To summa-rize briefly, Bede describes Æthelfrith's victory over the Dalriadan ruler Aedan at *Degsastan* (an unidenti-fied place, but given the two protagonists presum-ably in the west) in 603 (*HE* I, 34, 116), Æthel-frith's defeat of the British at Chester (Cheshire) in 616 (*HE* II, 2, 140), and
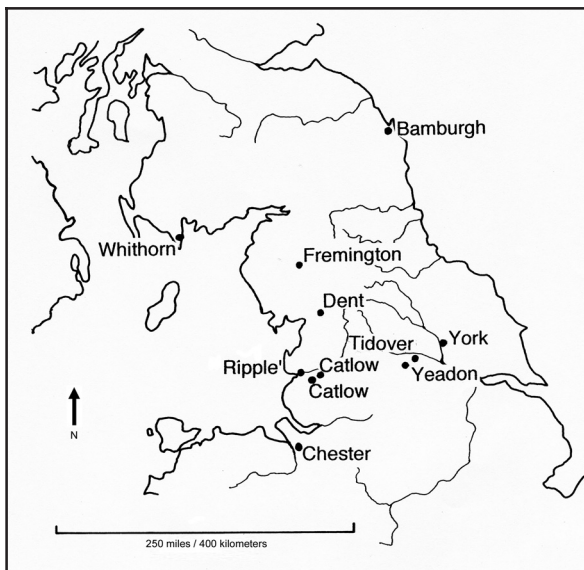
Map 11. Map showing locations of sites discussed.

Edwin's control over Man and Anglesey in the early seventh century (*HE* II, 9, 162). He goes on to refer to the incorporation of the monastic site at Whithorn (Dumfries and Galloway) within Bernicia (*ad prouinciam Berniciorum pertinens*) and to the appointment of an Anglian bishop there by the time he was writing in *c.* 731 (*HE* III, 4, 222 and *HE* V, 23, 558–60) (Map 11). This picture of significant and growing Anglian influence in the British West is borne out by the archae-ological evidence. For example the eighth- and ninth-century stone sculpture from the Lake District has close stylistic parallels to that from the eastern Northumbrian heartlands (Bailey and Cramp 1988: 113–17). Whilst the incorporation of 'the West' within the kingdom of Northumbria must never have been regarded as a foregone conclusion by contemporaries, it nonetheless offers a strong basis for looking at Western Northumbria as a frontier. It is thus possible to examine a variety of sources from the area for evidence of Cronon, Miles, and Gitlin's pro-cesses. The following case-studies offer just a taste of what is possible from future research. They do reveal, however, that such an approach allows scholars to move beyond the desire to identify the limits of the kingdom. It is possible to ask broader questions about the realities of life at the frontier, and about contemporary perceptions of the area.

Three Case Studies

Case Study One: Book I, Chapter 34 of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*

This chapter contains Bede's account of Æthelfrith's actions in the west. Considered in the light of Cronon, Miles, and Gitlin's processes, it offers a window on the realities of frontier life, and indeed on how the frontier itself was seen. King Æthelfrith (r. ?590–616), says Bede, 'expelled the peoples of the Irish beyond the frontiers of the English (*ab Anglorum finibus*) destroying them in a battle' (*HE* I, 34, 12). Indeed Bede talks of how

> He ravaged the British people more than all of the leaders of the Angles such that he seemed rightly comparable to Saul (who was) once king of the Israelites, excepting of course that he was ignorant of the divine religion. For no-one among military leaders nor among kings had caused more of their lands to be to be made tributary to the English people or habitable for them, having exterminated/driven beyond the frontiers or subjugated the inhabitants (*Nemo enim in tribunis, nemo in regibus plures eorum terras, exterminatis uel subiugatis indigenis, aut tributarias genti Anglorum aut habitabiles fecit*). (*HE* I, 34, 116)

Bede's comment that Æthelfrith 'caused more of their lands to be made tributary to the English people or habitable for them having exterminated/driven beyond the frontiers (*exterminatis*) or subjugated the inhabitants' is especially instructive. The implication is that formerly British lands in the west were treated in two different ways by Æthelfrith: either the inhabitants were allowed to remain on the lands but they were made to pay tribute to the Northumbrian ruler, or the inhabitants were forcibly removed and the lands were resettled by Angles. There are quite a lot of things to unpick here. The reference to the imposition of tribute is a clear example of boundary setting. New boundaries, in terms of loyalties and tax dues, were set up as a result of the spread of Northumbrian lordship into previously British lands. This complements what Bede says in Book II, Chapter 9 about Edwin's control over Man and Anglesey in the next generation. The details which Bede gives about the size of the two islands look like they may well be drawn from some kind of official document, perhaps akin to the Tribal Hidage, which would presumably have been created for tax purposes. Bede writes, 'the first of those [Anglesey] which is to the south [...] contains the territorial extent equivalent to 960 families according to the English, and the second [Man] holds the space of three hundred or more' ('quarum prior, quae ad austrum est [...] nongentarum sexaginta familiarum mensuram iuxta aestimationem Anglorum, secunda trecentarum et ultra spatium tenet') (*HE* II, 9, 162).

Returning to Book I, Chapter 34, the reference to making land 'habitable' for the incoming Angles is indicative of the process of species shifting. Bede evidently

thought that Northumbrians (be they true Anglian descendants or Britons who had adopted Anglian identities in the east) actually moved onto formerly British lands in the west. The term *exterminatis* is arguably the most interesting element of Bede's account. The *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* offers four possible translations of *exterminare* (Latham and Howlett 1986: 874). Only two of those meanings were current at the time Bede was writing: 'to drive beyond the boundary, expel, banish' and 'to exterminate, kill'. So Bede either meant that Æthelfrith was responsible for driving the native Britons beyond the frontiers of Northumbria, or for the killing of many Britons. Given that the verb *exterminare* is used to mean 'to drive beyond the boundary etc.' by Theodore in his Penitential and by the anonymous author of the first *Vita Cuthberti*, it seems reasonable to assume that Bede would have been familiar with this meaning of the term (Latham and Howlett 1986: 874). However, according to the *Dictionary* Bede himself, later in the *Historia Ecclesiatica*, is the first to use the verb in its other sense, when he writes that Cædwalla captured the Isle of Wight 'and he strove to kill (*exterminare*) all the natives through murderous slaughter and to replace them with men from his own province' ('ac stragica caede omnes indigenas exterminare as suae provinciae homines pro his substituere contendit') (*HE* IV, 16, 382). It seems, then, that Bede's use of the verb in his description of Æthelfrith's actions could be read either way. Bede may simply have meant to imply that Æthelfrith was responsible for the killing of many Britons. However, if he did mean to imply that the King's campaign resulted in the driving of Britons beyond the frontiers of Northumbria, then this would seem to indicate at least an early eighth-century perception of a physical division in the landscape between an area where Britons were subjugated to Anglian Northumbrian rule and an area where they were beyond the reach of the kingdom. Whatever Bede meant, his account is clear evidence for the process of land-taking in practice.

So, when considered in the light of Cronon, Miles, and Gitlin's processes, Book I, Chapter 34 of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* reveals a considerable amount about the realities of life in Western Northumbria and about how the west may have been perceived. It is, however, worth considering the full implications of the picture presented in Bede's account. It certainly seems reasonable to assume that in some instances the Britons of the west met with a series of stark choices. Those living on land upon which the incoming Angles wished to settle may well have had to choose between moving away into areas which were tributary to the Angles or even into (presumably poor) lands which were entirely beyond the kingdom's frontiers. In some instances though, it is surely possible that some Britons chose to stay and adopt new Anglian identities. Ward-Perkins (2000: 523–24) has suggested that

such a 'cultural choice' may well be the result of the lesser status afforded to Britons in Anglo-Saxon society as typified by the lower wergilds for Britons in Ine's lawcode. If some Britons in Western Northumbria did make such a cultural choice the resulting scenario would lend itself to the emergence of Cronon, Miles, and Giltin's processes of market-making and self-shaping, for however expedient it was for native Britons to adopt new Anglian identities, it is highly unlikely that such a process involved no British influence on incoming Angles. Additionally in those areas where the British populous remained but new tribute requirements were set up it seems safe to assume that some degree of self-shaping would occur when the Britons came into contact with Anglian ideas. Overall, this chapter hints at the variety of experiences in early medieval Western Northumbria and at the different ways in which the west may have been perceived.

Case Study Two: Chapters 17 and 18 of the *Vita Wilfridi*

The *Vita Wilfridi* offers an interesting counterpart to the understanding of Western Northumbria found in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*. A biographical work, the text recounts the life of the major Northumbrian ecclesiastic Bishop Wilfrid of York, who died in *c.* 709. Although it survives only in manuscripts of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries (Kirby 1983: 102), it is likely that the *Vita Wilfridi* was composed within about ten years of Wilfrid's death (*VW*, x). Written by Stephen, a monk of Ripon who knew Wilfrid personally, the text has much to offer the scholar of early medieval Northumbria (*VW*, x). Two incidents in the life shed light on contemporary perceptions of and the realities of life in and beyond Western Northumbria: the granting of land to Wilfrid at the dedication ceremony of Ripon in Chapter 17, and the events surrounding Wilfrid's resuscitation of a young British boy in Chapter 18. Again the value of considering Western Northumbria as a frontier subject to a variety of processes will be demonstrated.

Chapter 17, 'Concerning the building of the church at Ripon and its dedication', comprises Stephen's account of Wilfrid's building programme at Ripon and the dedication ceremony of Wilfrid's new church (*VW*, 34–36). The major focus of the account is the record of the dedication ceremony which took place in the mid-670s. Stephen lists those whom Wilfrid invited to this event: 'the two most Christian kings and brothers, Ecgfrith and Aelfwini, together with the abbots, the reeves and the sub-kings; dignitaries of every kind gathered together' ('regibus christianissimis et piissimis Ecgfritho et Aelwino, duobus fratribus, cum abbatibus praefectisque et sub-regulis, totiusque dignitatis personae simul in unum

convenerunt') (*VW*, 36). It was clearly a highly significant event. The focal point of the ceremony, as Stephen describes it, was Wilfrid's recitation of the lands granted to him. It is this section of the chapter which is of particular interest in any examination of Western Northumbria as a frontier.

Stephen writes,

> Then St. Wilfrid the bishop stood in front of the altar, and, turning to the people, in the presence of the kings read out clearly a list of the lands which the kings, for the good of their souls, had previously, and on that very day as well, presented to him, with the agreement and over the subscriptions of the bishops and all the chief men (*cum consensu et subscriptione episcoporum et omnium principum*), and also a list of the consecrated places (*loca sancta*) in various parts which the British clergy had deserted when fleeing from the hostile sword wielded by the warriors of our own *gens*. It was truly a gift well pleasing to God that the pious kings had assigned so many lands to our bishop for the service of God; these are the names of the regions (*regionum*): round Ribble and Yeadon and the region of Dent and Catlow and other places (*iuxta Rippel et Ingaedyne et in regione Dunutinga et Incaetlaevum in caeterisque locis*). (*VW*, 36)

It is apparent from the use of the word *regionum* that the donations comprised significant areas of land. Although the location of the named places has been the subject of much discussion, it will be seen that the majority were in Western Northumbria (Map 11).

Colgrave's rendering, 'round Ribble and Yeadon and the region of Dent and Catlow', is based on suggestions by Professor Chadwick (*VW*, 164). Certainly *iuxta Rippel* has commonly been interpreted as a reference to the district of Amounderness with a presumed *caput* on the River Ribble at Preston (Lancashire), although Jones (1995: 30) has suggested other potential foci at Ribbleton or Ribchester. The concerns of Sims-William (1988: 180–83) about the identification of *Rippel* with modern day Ribble are valid, but his suggestion, based on the evidence of a charter dated (if genuine) to 680, that the land may in fact be near Ripple in Mercia merely replaces one scribal error for another as the charter is made out to Uuinfridi, not Uuilfridi. The *regione Dunutinga*, whether it means the territory of an *ingas* group living near the river Dent or the territory of Dunawd, a North-British king who died in the 590s, is identified with the township of Dent in the parish of Sedburgh (Lancashire). Indeed Jones (1995: 29–30) suggests it could even have been a region synonymous with the whole of the parish of Sedburgh, making it some eighty-three square miles. *Incaetlaevum*, following Chadwick, is generally taken to be related to a number of Catlows in south-east Lancashire (Potts 1994: 75). However, Cox (1976: 18) feels the derivation from OE *cattahlāw is 'unlikely' and prefers not to speculate as to the location.

Finally, the name which has arguably caused the greatest difficulty, due to the issue of whether it is an outlier from the others or not, is *Ingaedyne*. Chadwick's suggestion of Yeadon (lit. steep hill) looks like it may well derive from the term (Jones 1995: 30). However, Wood (1987: 24) questioned whether Yeadon near Otley, east of the Pennines, is really a likely candidate as the other three places are all west of the Pennines and the reference to the flight of the British clergy would imply an improbably late survival of a British church east of the Pennines. He suggested that there might have been another 'steep hill' in the west whose name has not survived. Jones (1995: 30–36), though, has rebutted Wood's suggestion and rehabilitated the case for Yeadon near Otley. His argument rests in part on a reference (discussed below) in the subsequent chapter of the *Vita Wilfridi* to a surviving British community near Ripon at this date. He argues that the word *Ingaedyne* implies that the land granted was probably equivalent to the parish of Guiseley with Esholt 'in' the larger territory of Yeadon. Beyond this discussion, I have argued elsewhere that the phrase 'and in other places' (*in caeterisque locis*) may well include the Lune Valley in Lancashire (Clark 2010). On balance, and combined with the reference to the actions of the Anglian warriors, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that most, if not all, of the lands in question had recently come within Anglian Western Northumbria. This leads to a number of questions about the perception of these places by those involved in the ceremony and about the realities of life there.

Turning first to the issue of perception, it is possible to argue that these sizeable areas of land were seen as objects which could be transferred from the control of one group to another. Although the stated reason for the kings' donation is that the grants were made 'for the good of their souls', it seems likely that the grants were politically motivated as well. If it is correct to assume that the area had only recently come into the political control of Anglian Northumbria, then granting considerable territory to the Church, in the shape of Wilfrid and his monastery at Ripon, may have been intended to help secure the area. Indeed Roper (1974: 72) has commented that the grants 'must represent a stage in the consolidation of the westward gains' of the Deirans. The land is said to be 'for the service of God'. It is possible that the land was simply meant as an endowment for Ripon, but it seems likely that the kings and other nobles expected that minster sites would be created at the focal points of these places. The creation of permanent monastic sites would almost certainly have been seen as a useful way of providing new foci of lordship associated with Anglian Northumbria. To use the terminology of Cronon, Miles, and Gitlin once again, it is possible to see the processes both of land taking and of boundary setting, with the establishment of new minster sites, occurring in a frontier area.

The idea of creating new foci of lordship is predicated upon the perception that frontier areas would be populated not only by Anglian settlers, but also by native Britons. The reference to the flight of the British clergy might argue against this. However, the grant of the British 'consecrated places' to Wilfrid seems to imply a sense of propriety about what should be done with the holy places of others. This sense of propriety makes the most sense in a climate where the kings' actions would be seen by members of that other group. Indeed, the possibility that they were even invited to the ceremony is discussed further below. In other words, continuing Christian worship at British Christian sites could well be an action designed as much to appease a still resident British population as to please God. This chapter in the *Vita Wilfridi* then, also hints at the realities of life on the western Northumbrian frontier. It would appear that Western Northumbria may well have been characterized by an ongoing interaction between Angles and Britons leading, presumably, to the process of self-shaping.

This chapter in the *Vita Wilfridi* offers more than just a glimpse at what may have been going on in the west, however. A key observation first made by Turner (1893: 22) in that seminal article was that the presence of a frontier affects the societal relations of those at the centre. Stephen of Ripon's narrative reveals that 'thinking about Western Northumbria' had an impact on those still living and ruling in the east. As has been noted, he describes a large number of dignitaries attending the ceremony. He further observes that the land grants were presented to Wilfrid 'with the agreement and over the signatures of the bishops and all the chief men'. If we assume the phrase 'the bishops and all the chief men' covers all those attendees at the ceremony, then it is possible to see that a sizeable group of men were involved in the land-granting process. It is of course possible that so many men attended the ceremony because the event promised to be an exceptionally enjoyable social occasion, but it is also possible that a very broad political consensus was needed when newly acquired lands were granted away. The presence of the frontier can thus be seen as affecting the politics of what may be termed 'central Northumbria'. Indeed it is possible to examine this phenomenon further. Stephen's reference to the subscription of the dignitaries is clear evidence of a written land grant. Indeed the level of detail he uses to describe the whole event and his reference to the specific lands involved suggest that he may well have been working from the written document itself, although no such document has survived to prove that theory. The collection of the subscriptions at the bottom of any document — as on the earliest surviving Anglo-Saxon charters — would act as a visual sign of the political unity engendered by the land grant.

One final aspect of the dedication ceremony which should be commented upon is the aural and visual display of community which it fostered. Stephen notes that Wilfrid 'read out clearly' the list of lands. This part of the ceremony was evidently meant to be heard and observed by the congregation gathered in the church. Presumably one of the aims was to ensure that there would be no encroachment upon the new church lands. This seems especially likely as Wilfrid referred both to lands which the kings had given to him on that day and to lands which they had given to him 'previously'. However, it seems reasonable to assume that a secondary goal was to publicly state that the decision was a collective one. Indeed this is supported by Stephen's account of what happened after the sermon. He writes, 'the kings started upon a great feast lasting for three days and three nights, rejoicing amid all their people, showing magnanimity towards their enemies and humility towards the servants of God' ('magnum convivium trium dierum et noctium reges, cum omni populo laetificantes, magnanimes in hostes, humiles cum servis Dei inierunt') (*VW*, 36). Again the length of the feast and the reference to the kings feasting 'amid all their people' suggest that the principal aim of the feast was to reinforce the collective identity of the upper echelons of Anglian Northumbrian society in the latter third of the seventh century. It is worth noting, however, that the reference to the kings' 'magnanimity towards their enemies (*hostes*)' may suggest that there were also British leaders at the feast. If this is the correct interpretation then this would suggest a further aim for the occasion: ensuring successful Anglo-British interactions in Western Northumbria in the future. Such an aim might easily be termed boundary setting. In addition, entertaining an enemy would necessarily involve a reappraisal of both the entertainer and the guest's identity, and the feast itself can thus be seen as part of the process of self-shaping.

So Chapter 17 has a surprising amount to reveal about contemporary perceptions of Western Northumbria and about the realities of life, not only there but also in the centre of the kingdom. Chapter 18 is equally interesting. Entitled 'How he restored a child to life', it recounts Wilfrid's revival of a dead baby boy presented to him during a ceremony of baptism and confirmation in the village of '*Tiddanufri*', which Jones (1995: 24) identifies with Tidover (Yorkshire), fourteen miles south of Ripon. It is clear that the miracle of this resuscitation as performed by Wilfrid (which allowed the boy to receive baptism) is Stephen's primary motivation for including this account. He is keen to extol Wilfrid's virtues writing, 'and when he placed his hand on the dead body it breathed again forthwith, receiving the spirit of life' (*VW*, 38). However, it is the events which take place after the miracle, and which Stephen mentions only in passing, that are of interest in any

consideration of the light which this episode sheds upon the Northumbrian frontiers in a broader sense.

After resuscitating the baby boy and baptizing him, Wilfrid asked the boy's mother to raise him until he was seven and then give him back to Wilfrid 'for the service of God' (*VW*, 38). However, she did not do this and instead hid the boy, forcing Wilfrid's reeve to go and find him and claim him for the monastery at Ripon. It is the circumstances of the concealment of the boy which are particularly instructive in this case. Stephen describes how

> The mother, however, when she saw how handsome the boy was, listened to the evil counsel of her husband, made light of her promise and fled from her country. The bishop's reeve, named Hocca, having sought and found him hidden among others of the British race (*sub aliis Bryttonum*), took him away by force and carried him off to the bishop. (*VW*, 38 and 40)

It is apparent that the boy was a Briton as, when it came to hiding him, his mother was able to place him 'among others of the British race'. This phrase is most instructive. It is clear that in the latter third of the seventh century, within the vicinity of the Anglian minster at Ripon, there was at least one distinctively British community still in existence. Jones (1995: 24) suggests Walton (lit. settlement of the Welsh) some two miles to the north-west of Tidover. As the preceding chapter demonstrates, considerable land further west had come under Northumbrian sway at this point, so the account is thus indicative of continuing divisions between Angles and Britons within 'central' Northumbria.

The boy's name is interesting to discuss in the light of this. Stephen notes that 'the boy's first name was Eodwald and his surname was Bishop's Son: he lived in Ripon serving God until he died during the great plague' (*VW*, 40). Eodwald is a distinctively English name, whilst the term 'Bishop's Son' must surely be a nickname referring to the circumstances of his baptism. This raises the question of when he acquired the two names. Stephen does not say that the boy was known as 'Bishop's Son' from the point of his baptism, so it is possible that he was only referred to in that way after he arrived at the monastery. It is possible that the name Eodwald was also given to him then, replacing an earlier British name. This would suggest that it was seen as necessary to give him a name suited to his position within an Anglian house. However, it is equally possible that he was called Eodwald from baptism, which would suggest that the British community in question was using English names for its children. Indeed Lynch's study of the role of godparents in the naming of baptized children would suggest that 'the principles of early medieval naming had much to do with kinship and left little initiative to the sponsor' (1986: 172). He gives a number of examples including the naming of

a royal godson Lothar, a traditional Merovingian name, by St Eligius of Noyon in the mid-seventh century. If the boy was named Eodwald at baptism, this passage gives a tantalizing glimpse of the process of self-shaping at a frontier. Whilst the community from which the boy came was seen by Stephen (or his source) as British, it was nonetheless a community which was beginning to use English names for its children. The implication is that the community was gradually formulating a new identity in the light of ongoing contact with the Anglian community.

So these two chapters of the *Vita Wilfridi* reveal a good deal about early medieval Northumbria. The case can be made both for contemporary interest in the ownership of newly acquired lands in the west and for the importance of collective decisions about that ownership. Evidently the presence of a 'western frontier' was a factor in the political and ecclesiastical affairs of those living in the east. As with Book I, Chapter 34 of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, analysis of these chapters in the light of Cronon, Miles, and Giltin's processes has revealed much about the realities of life in Western Northumbria and about contemporary perceptions of the west and of each other.

Case Study Three: Fremington (Cumbria)

The final case study which demonstrates the value of thinking about Western Northumbria as a frontier is an archaeological site. Whilst a large well-known, much-excavated site such as Whithorn would make a good example, it is worth highlighting how such an approach can also work with small sites. The evidence from the small settlement excavated at Fremington in Cumbria offers an opportunity to identify Cronon, Miles, and Gitlin's processes in material culture (Oliver, Howard-Davis, and Newman 1996). At Fremington it is possible to see a British society responding to the spread of Northumbrian ideas. In other words the buildings and finds from the site show evidence for the process of self-shaping.

Fremington is situated 'at the confluence of the Rivers Eamont and Lowther in the Eden Valley' (Map 11). It was subject to partial excavation in 1991 in advance of the laying of a pipeline (Oliver, Howard-Davis, and Newman 1996: 127). The majority of the finds — including a number of loomweights, a copper alloy fragment identified as probably part of a brooch, and a garment hook — were dated to the seventh or eighth century (Oliver, Howard-Davis, and Newman 1996: 152–57). This dating was supported by the building styles employed on the site. Four sunken-feature buildings (SFBs), a surface-laid structure, and a kiln were identified (Oliver, Howard-Davis, and Newman 1996: 130). The SFBs are a typically 'Anglian' style
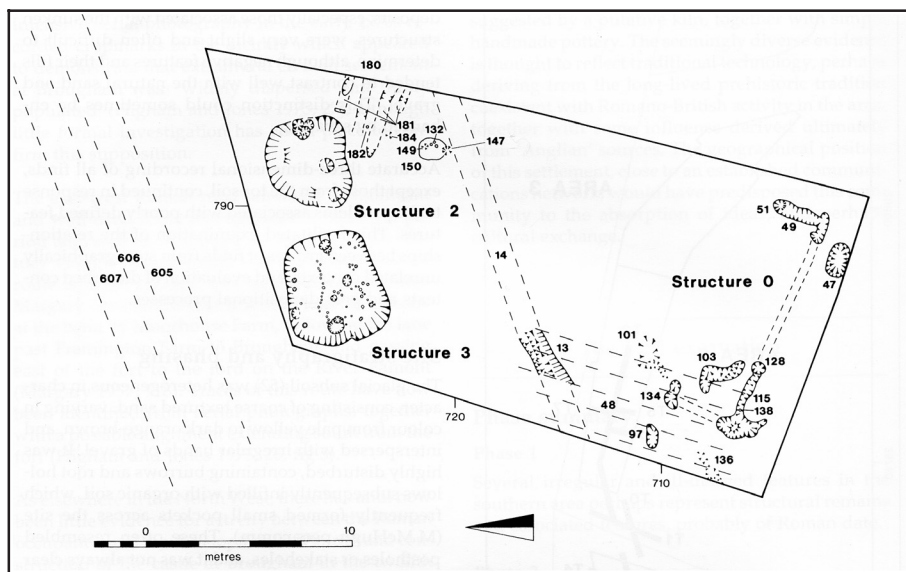
Figure 5. Some of the sunken-featured buildings identified at Fremington.
(© Oxford Archaeological Unit Limited)

of building and might well seem indicative of the kind of settlement at Fremington (Figure 5). However, a number of ceramic pieces were also found at the site (Figure 6). These are especially instructive. The authors of the report comment that,

> whilst the loomweights are clearly of an early medieval type, and can be easily paralleled at numerous sites in the North, the vessels are in simple, handmade fabrics which were probably made on site and are not paralleled in quantity elsewhere. The vessels do not correspond in fabric or form to any from York (A Mainmann pers comm), East Anglia (H Hamerow pers comm) or the monastic sites at Monkwearmouth, Jarrow, and Whitby (S Mills pers comm), and are clearly in the long-lived tradition of local prehistoric types. (Oliver, Howard-Davis, and Newman 1996: 167)

The authors of the report, then, see the pottery as typically 'British'. This leads to two parallel ways of interpreting the site. It is possible that the settlement at Fremington supported a native British community who were prepared to assimilate to certain aspects of the Anglian way of life by adopting their building forms. Equally the site may have been an Anglian settlement at which a local British way of making pottery was assimilated. The authors of the report lean towards the former interpretation, noting that 'the location of the settlement, on a long-established trader route, would have created a climate where new ideas and stimuli were readily adopted by the indigenous population' (Oliver, Howard-Davis, and
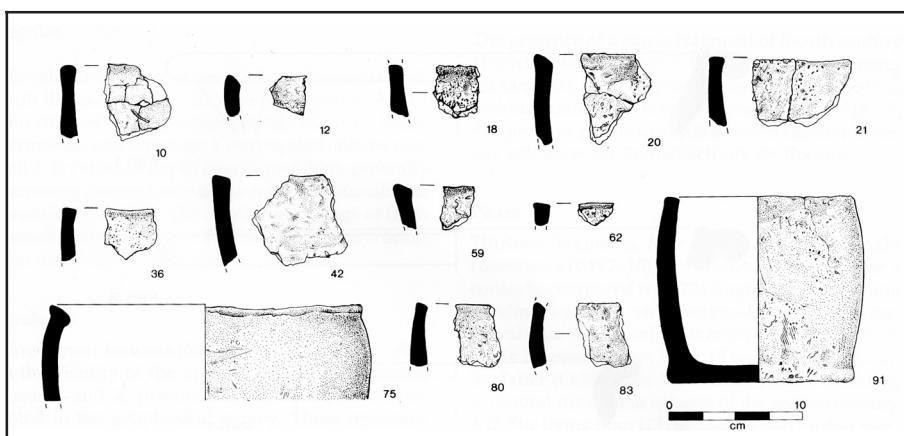
Figure 6. Some of the ceramic fragments from Fremington.
(© Oxford Archaeological Unit Limited)

Newman 1996: 169). Whichever interpretation is correct, however, Fremington is a very good example of self-shaping in action.

Conclusion: Thinking about Western Northumbria

These three examples are by no means an exhaustive survey of the evidence for Western Northumbria in the early medieval period. Nonetheless a number of important ideas about the experience of living in the west and about how the area was perceived have been explored. Bede's account of Æthelfrith's actions reveals that formerly British lands in the west were sometimes made tributary to Anglian Northumbria and sometimes cleared of Britons in advance of Anglian settlement. In addition Bede's account raises the possibility that in some cases Britons remained in Anglian areas and sought to create new identities for themselves. Such a possibility is supported by Stephen's account of the apparent propriety with which former British Christian sites in the west were treated, as this suggests that there may well have been both British and Anglian audiences for the actions. Additionally, the probable interaction between the two groups further east is hinted at in the story of Eodwald Bishop's Son, and Fremington seems to be a good example of such self-shaping in practice in Western Northumbria itself. Finally, in terms of how Western Northumbria was perceived, the *Historia Ecclesiastica* suggests that the area may well have been seen as divided into zones of Anglian influence, and the *Vita Wilfridi* reveals that, however it was seen, what happened to the lands of the newly acquired west mattered to the political community of the east.

Overall it should be clear that frontier theory offers an exciting and profitable new way to approach the study of early medieval Western Northumbria. Considering the westward expansion of Northumbrian power in terms of the processes which it must have involved allows for a better understanding of the area as a whole. In particular, it seems there is the potential to find out more about the experiences of life in Western Northumbria and about how contemporaries thought about the area. This work certainly offers plenty of future directions, not only for early medieval Northumbria, but for the study of marginal areas in early medieval Britain as a whole.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

HE = Bede: Ecclesiastical History of the English People, ed. by B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969). Cited by book, chapter, page of the Latin text; all translations are my own.

VW = The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus, ed. by B. Colgrave (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927). Cited by page of the Latin text; all translations follow Colgrave, with some minor adjustments of my own.

References

Bailey, R., and R. Cramp. 1988. *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, vol. II: *Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire North-of-the-Sands* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

Clark, F. H. 2010. 'Wilfrid's Lands? The Lune Valley in its Anglian Context', in *Lancashire's Sacred Landscape*, ed. by L. Sever (Stroud: Tempus), 130–46

Cox, B. 1976. 'The Place-Names of the Earliest English Records', *Journal of the English Place-Name Society*, 8: 12–69

Cronon, W., G. Miles, and J. Gitlin. 1992. 'Becoming West: Toward a New Meaning for Western History', in *Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America's Western Past*, ed. by W. Cronon, G. Miles, and J. Gitlin (New York: Norton), 3–27

Higham, N. 2006. 'Northumbria's Southern Frontier: A Review', *Early Medieval Europe*, 14: 391–418

Jones, G. R. J. 1995. 'Some Donations to Bishop Wilfrid in Northern England', *Northern History*, 31: 22–38

Kirby, D. P. 1983. 'Bede, Eddius Stephanus and the "Life of Wilfrid"', *English Historical Review*, 98: 101–14

Latham, R. E., and D. R. Howlett. 1986. *The British Academy Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, Fascicule III: *D–E* (London: Oxford University Press)

Lynch, J. H. 1986. *Godparents and Kinship in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press)

Oliver, T., C. Howard-Davis, and R. Newman. 1996. 'A Post-Roman Settlement at Fremington, Near Brougham', in *Transect Through Time: The Archaeological Landscape of the Shell North Western Ethylene Pipeline (English Section)*, ed. by J. Lambert (Lancaster: University Archaeological Unit), 127–69

Potts, W. 1994. 'Brettaroum, Bolton-le-Sands and the Late Survival of Welsh in Lancashire', *Contrebis*, 19: 61–76

Roper, M. 1974. 'Wilfrid's Landholdings in Northumbria', in *Saint Wilfrid at Hexham*, ed. by D. Kirby (Newcastle: Oriel), 61–80

Sims-Williams, P. 1988. 'St Wilfrid and Two Charters Dated AD 676 and 680', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 39: 163–83

Turner, F. J. 1893. 'The Significance of the Frontier in American History', repr. in *The Frontier in American History*, ed. by F. J. Turner (New York: Holt), 1–38

Ward-Perkins, B. 2000. 'Why Did the Anglo-Saxons Not Become More British?', *English Historical Review*, 115: 513–33

Wood, I. 1987. 'Anglo-Saxon Otley: An Archiepiscopal Estate and its Crosses in a Northumbrian Context', *Northern History*, 23: 20–38

Settlement, Landscape, and Economy in Early Medieval Northumbria: The Contribution of Portable Antiquities

Julian D. Richards and John Naylor

Introduction

Northumbria was relatively rich in low denomination coinage and basic dress accessories in the ninth and tenth centuries. Although there are localized variations, the quantities of copper alloy finds are relatively greater than for many other areas of early medieval England. When combined with the effects of high unemployment in the north-east, and the development of metal-detecting as a popular leisure activity for white working-class males in the region, the former Anglo-Saxon kingdom has become an active territory for metal-detector users in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The majority of these operate within the law, reporting their finds under the 1996 Treasure Act, although there is also a hard core of so-called 'nighthawks' whose main priority is personal monetary gain (Richards and Naylor 2008). On the other hand, the increase in finds recovery and reporting by legitimate detector users provides a rich resource for future archaeological research.

The aim of the Viking and Anglo-Saxon Landscape and Economy project (VASLE) was to use the rich database of coins and metalwork derived primarily from metal-detecting to illuminate early medieval landscape and economy on a national scale. The full results have been published (Richards and others 2009a), and the digital archive for the project has also been made available (Richards and others 2009b). This chapter will focus on the potential of portable antiquities to enhance our understanding of settlement and economy in early medieval Northumbria.

Project Aims

The VASLE project had three inter-related objectives:

1. To map national distributions of metal artefacts and coinage *c*. AD 700–1000 and to compare these distributions with landscape factors in order to understand the visibility, recovery, and archaeological distribution of early medieval 'productive sites'.

2. To characterize the finds assemblages of individual known sites, graphing percentages of coins and other object types in order to examine change through time and to derive 'fingerprints' which will help define a hierarchy of settlement types.

3. To use targeted and controlled metal-detecting of specific sites in the north of England to study their development and morphology from finds distributions.

In order to achieve objective 1, data were downloaded from the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) and Early Medieval Corpus (EMC) databases to create a VASLE 'National dataset'. In the case of the PAS data it was necessary to undertake some data cleaning, validation, and enhancement.

From the outputs of objective 1, supplemented by personal contacts and visits to Historic Environment Records (HERs), a list of specific 'productive sites' with good metalwork and coin assemblages was collated. To achieve objective 2 further data collection was undertaken for these sites in order to create a VASLE 'Sites dataset'. A number of excavated sites was also included in this phase, to provide further comparative data. This has provided the basis for graphical and statistical analysis of the relative proportion of artefacts and coins at a number of sites.

Simultaneously, a select number of 'productive sites' were targeted for detailed study, including fieldwork and controlled detecting, in order to fulfil objective 3. Work at an Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian 'productive site' at Cottam had shown that most finds are recovered from the plough soil and that sites are being destroyed by modern agricultural practices. Work at Cottam also demonstrated the potential of locational information for studying the morphology and horizontal development of sites, particularly movement through time (Richards 1999a). Under the auspices of the VASLE project, and with support of the University of York, the work at Cottam was extended to an adjacent Anglian site at Cowlam, which was also subject to metal-detecting. During the course of the project we became aware of ongoing activity by illegal nighthawks at a third Anglian site, Burdale, neighbouring the intensively examined site at Wharram Percy. Two seasons of excavation were therefore undertaken at Burdale, alongside fieldwalking,

geophysics, and metal-detector survey. This work has complemented the broader-scale, desk-based analysis undertaken for objectives 1 and 2 with a more detailed understanding of the problems of defining and examining 'productive sites' on the ground.

This chapter will assess the potential of portable antiquities to advance our understanding of early medieval Northumbria, and it focuses particularly on objective 1 of the VASLE project. Post-excavation analysis of Cowlam and Burdale is ongoing, and this work, associated with objective 3, will be published later in forthcoming site-based studies.

Background: The History of Portable Antiquities Research

Metal-detector users and archaeologists have always had an ambivalent relationship. Metal-detecting probably reached the peak of its popularity in England around 1980, although the equipment is now more refined and the users more proficient. By the time of the first comprehensive survey of metal-detecting in England in 1995 it was estimated that there were still perhaps thirty thousand detector users, of whom about twelve thousand belonged to clubs affiliated to the National Council for Metal Detecting, and a further three thousand were members of the Federation of Independent Detectorists (Dobinson and Denison 1995). It has been estimated that there are still some eight thousand or so metal-detector users active in England and Wales (Paynton 2006).

The effects of detecting are difficult to quantify, but it is clear that tens of thousands of artefacts are recovered annually. The PAS database has records of over two hundred thousand archaeological objects, but this largely reflects only recently reported finds, and it is probably the tip of the iceberg (Paynton 2006). At the British Museum, for instance, about two-thirds of all Anglo-Saxon, medieval, and post-medieval metal artefacts seen between 1988 and 1995 were found by detector users, together with nearly nine out of ten hoards and about half of all coins (Dobinson and Denison 1995). These finds have the potential to transform our knowledge of past material culture and, if find spot information is recorded, to revolutionize our knowledge of settlement and trading patterns as well (see e.g. Naylor 2004; Ulmschneider 1999; 2000).

Initial archaeological reactions to the growth of the hobby were largely negative, and many archaeologists accused so-called 'treasure hunters' of looting archaeological sites, destroying the nation's past without proper record. Nowadays there is wider acceptance that apart from a small number of illegal nighthawks (despised

as much by other detector users as by archaeologists) the majority of detector users in England are responsible, with a genuine interest in the past and detailed knowledge of artefacts and archaeology (Paynton 2006). It is recognized that the real culprit is modern agricultural practice and that most finds are recovered from the plough soil in which they are being abraded with each new ploughing and would eventually be destroyed without record if it were not for the activities of detector users. From an early stage, however, some archaeologists acknowledged that it was important to try to work with metal-detector users. In the 1990s, during discussions leading up to the passing of the 1996 Treasure Act, it was recognized that there was a pressing need to establish a national scheme to record artefacts recovered by members of the public. This led to the establishment of the PAS.

The value of metal-detecting for our understanding of the period AD 700–1000 is particularly acute. The bleak picture painted by David Hinton over thirty years ago (1975), when the limited corpus of Anglo-Saxon artefacts could only provide very broad chronological, cultural, and regional trends, has been replaced by a wealth of data. By the time of the survey of metal-detecting by Dobinson and Denison (1995) 69 per cent of Anglo-Saxon metalwork finds discovered between 1988 and 1993 had been metal-detected. In Northumbria, early medieval settlements have been particularly unresponsive to traditional survey methods, but the large quantities of copper alloy objects in circulation have meant that Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Scandinavian objects are well represented, and that many hitherto unknown sites have been discovered. The use of the metal-detector has even given rise to a new category of site, referred to as the 'productive site' by detectorists, a term which has now entered the academic vernacular. Cottam, East Yorkshire (Richards 1999a) remains one of the few excavated and published 'productive sites'. Many more sites are known only from concentrations of objects and coins.

There is also an existing corpus of early medieval coin finds (the EMC), maintained at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, but archaeologists and numismatists have tended to study the coins and the other metal finds in isolation from each other. In a study of the productive site at South Newbald, Kevin Leahy (2000) has demonstrated the potential of producing graphs of coins and proportions of other object types to date the range of sites and distinguish between types of settlement. Comparison of Cottam and Wharram Percy (Richards 1999b) has revealed that the 'productive site' term is misleading and that sites have been artificially separated by their mode of discovery and excavation. Nonetheless, statistical analysis can allow categories of rural site to be defined and compared with urban assemblages. It is also important to compare coins with other artefacts; at some sites, for example, it is apparent that coin usage ceases in the tenth century whilst other

metalwork demonstrates that activity continues. When studied together coins and metalwork can act as controls for each other.

Both the PAS and EMC generously provided full downloads of their databases for use within the VASLE project. Although both resources continue to be updated it was necessary to agree cut-off dates during 2005–06 to allow cleaning and enhancement for examination of national finds distributions.

The Portable Antiquities Scheme

Discussion around the introduction of the new Treasure Act in 1996, replacing the medieval Treasure Trove, brought into focus the large numbers of non-treasure archaeological finds which were being discovered around the country, often by members of the public (Richards and Naylor 2008). In March 1996, what was then the Department of National Heritage (DNH) (now the Department for Culture, Media & Sport (DCMS)) published *Portable Antiquities: A Discussion Document*. The aim of this document was to complement the impending Treasure Act, to address the issue of non-treasure archaeological finds, and to propose solutions for dealing with these. After consultation it was agreed that a scheme for the voluntary recording of all finds was required. As a result, in December 1996, the DNH announced that funding would be provided for two years for a programme of six pilot schemes, starting in September 1997. The project was ultimately overseen by the DCMS and administered by the Museums and Galleries Commission (now Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA)). The pilot schemes were based in museums and archaeology services in Kent, Norfolk, the West Midlands, North Lincolnshire, the north-west, and Yorkshire. In each place a Finds Liaison Officer (FLO) was appointed to act as a point of contact for finders. Their role was to record finds, to provide further information if possible, and providing finds did not qualify as Treasure, to return them to the finder. The scheme was later extended and a national database was developed, but good coverage was available for Deira and the north-west from the outset. Bernicia was less well provided for, but given difficulties of access to land in County Durham because of attitudes of major landowners, many north-east-based detector users headed further south, to North and East Yorkshire, in any case.

A range of data was harvested from the PAS, including the early medieval records and a range of control data. All the early medieval data was downloaded initially (3 October 2005) as this required cleaning and enhancement for in-depth analysis. This involved checking for accuracy, standardization of terms, and enhancement of the dataset, and the deletion of all records dating pre–AD 700. All

coinage was also deleted as the EMC comprised a far more comprehensive record at that point in time. A detailed discussion of the process of cleaning and enhancement can be found elsewhere (Naylor and Richards 2005; Richards and others 2009b). Second, location and period information for the entire PAS database was harvested (18 July 2006) to provide a control dataset. This contained 137,090 records dating from early prehistory to modern times, providing an ideal source of material with which to assess the nature of recovery. By utilizing this mass of data, the cleaned early medieval records can be explored against various background patterns. Analysing the entire PAS dataset allows for patterns relating to modern recovery and reporting to become clearer, with potential constraints on data collection readily apparent. Differences between the two distributions can be assumed to indicate factors specific to the early medieval period, rather than overall recovery biases.

The Early Medieval Corpus

The EMC is a database of single finds of coins minted AD 410–1180 found in the British Isles. It was established by Dr Mark Blackburn at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, with funding from the Leverhulme Trust and is available from the Fitzwilliam Museum website as an online searchable resource. Although hoards are more dramatic, single finds are more likely to result from accidental loss, and it is therefore safe to assume that they will be representative of the coins circulating in a given area at a given time.

The EMC includes single finds from a number of published sources, including the many volumes of the *Sylloge of Coin of the British Isles*, the *British Numismatic Journal*'s 'Coin Register', Metcalf's *Thrymsas and Sceattas* (1993–94), and Grierson and Blackburn's *Medieval European Coinage* (1986). Other records, such as those maintained by Mike Bonser and Arent Pol, have been included, and coins recorded in sales catalogues and back issues of the *British Numismatic Journal* and *Numismatic Chronicle* have also been incorporated. New finds are recorded as far as possible. At the time VASLE was set up few early medieval coins were recorded by the PAS and there was little overlap between the two sources, although PAS is now probably the primary recorder of early medieval coinage.

As far as possible the EMC records information about other finds from the site and as much detail as possible about the circumstances of the find. Precise information about the findspot is recorded where possible, although only four-figure grid references are available via the online database. The nature of data

harvesting from the EMC was more straightforward than for the PAS, consisting simply of the entire set of records held from which all post-1066 records were discarded. The data for use in studying the distributions of finds was downloaded 23 October 2005.

In general, the two datasets can be considered to ultimately have been derived from very similar sources, predominantly metal-detection, with the addition of varying amounts of finds from excavated and/or field-walked sites and a few other chance finds. As a result, many of the same finders report to both the PAS and EMC. Problems of data compatibility relating to the organization of the two schemes have been noted (Naylor and Richards 2005: 85–87), but this simple fact does mean that the two datasets are broadly comparable and compatible.

Two base maps were also produced against which the VASLE data could be assessed. These were designed to evaluate the data on several levels, allowing the observation of trends. The topographic base map allows easy comparison between the datasets, height of land, and rivers. It was produced using the Bartholomew GB2003 dataset for coastlines, rivers, and national boundaries. Only named rivers are shown to limit the mapping of rivers to significant watercourses. The topographic mapping is derived from the Ordnance Survey LANDMAP relief dataset. The constraints base map was specifically designed to assess potential biasing factors affecting data recovery. This has not been previously attempted in a systematic way on a national scale, and it provides a form of 'visibility template' against which the finds distribution can be overlaid to allow assessment if gaps are real or a product of visibility and recovery factors. It therefore allows examination of the distribution patterns produced by ancient settlement and artefact use and loss in relation to modern factors influencing recovery. The constraints map was produced using the Bartholomew GB2003 datasets (including urban areas, forests, lakes, and danger areas) and the LANDMAP relief dataset for which the 300m contour provides a useful approximation for the limits of plough-zone farming.

Portable Antiquities in Northumbria

Having outlined the data sources, the overall distribution of portable antiquities within the region will now be discussed, before focusing on the distribution of early medieval finds.

A range of topographic factors dominates the region north of the River Humber (Map 12). Highland affects much of this region. Western areas are encompassed by the Pennines and Lake District, and in the east, there is the higher ground of the Cheviots in Northumbria and the North Yorkshire Moors. These

all constrain the amount of plough zone available, and it is only the Tees Valley, Vale of York, and Vale of Pickering that are lower-lying fertile river valleys. Plough zone north of Newcastle is mostly limited to a 20km-wide coastal strip. Urban settlement also provides a major element of the landscape (Map 13) most notably the M62 corridor along the south-western boundary and the north-eastern areas between the Rivers Tees and Tyne. Away from here, there is a scattering of urban areas in the Vale of York and Humberside. Forested areas are few (Map 13), limited to the Kielder Forest in the north, the North Riding Forest Park on the North Yorkshire Moors, and Grizedale Forest in the Lake District.

A total of 10,299 finds of all periods have been reported in northern England, accounting for 8.4 per cent of the national assemblage. Of these, the north-west (Cumbria, Lancashire, and West Yorkshire) accounts for only 17.1 per cent (1763 records) of reported objects, with 82.9 per cent (8536 records) from the north-east, highlighting the differences seen in the distribution (Map 13). A breakdown of the assemblage by period (Graph 1) shows that it is dominated by Roman material, followed by late and post-medieval, between them making up 85.8 per cent (8837 records) of all records. Prehistoric material accounts for just 6.1 per cent (633 records), early medieval 4.4 per cent (457 records), modern and foreign material 0.6 per cent (60 records), and undated material 3 per cent (312 records).

In general, the distribution of material is greatly affected by topography (Map 12), with finds spread across lowland areas, especially Humberside, the Vale of York, and the Lancashire coastal zone. Markedly few finds have been made on ground over 100m OD, and all of those finds over 150m OD in the west are related to river systems. The valleys of the Rivers Lune, Ribble, and Kent coming west off the high ground towards the Irish Sea are areas of higher numbers of finds than the surrounding areas. In the east, few finds have been made on the high ground of the Cheviots or the North Yorkshire Moors. The comparatively lower ground of the Yorkshire Wolds is an area of relatively dense finds recovery along with the low-lying Vale of York and Vale of Pickering. These areas provide the majority of findspots in northern England, and the importance of the rivers here cannot be denied with virtually all finds located relatively close to the rivers leading to the Humber. The Holderness Plain in south-east Humberside has produced few finds, but this is not surprising given that it is a wetland area of salt marshes and meres (Van de Noort and Ellis 1995), although there are higher numbers of finds between these wetlands and the edge of the Wolds.

The potential constraints on the data (Map 13) make a visible impact, with very few finds outside of the plough zone and low numbers in urban areas. A total of 847 finds (8.2 per cent) was made within areas where constraints on recovery were

Map 13. Distribution of finds in Northumbria against constraints base map.

Map 12. Distribution of finds in Northumbria against topographic base map.
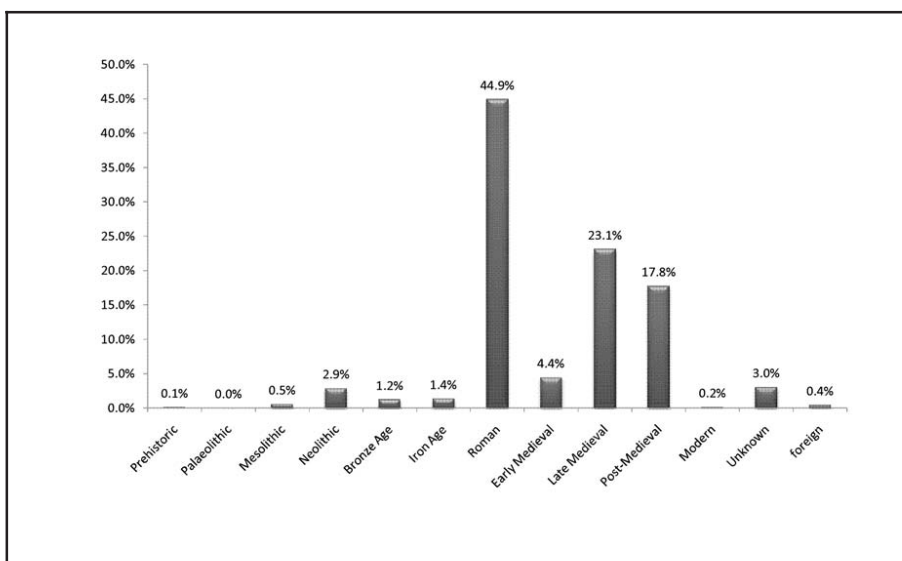
Graph 1. Chart showing PAS finds in Northumbria by period.

calculated (Graph 2), mostly in urban areas (659 records, 6.4 per cent) which, although above the national average, is unsurprising given the levels of urbanism in lowland areas. Of note, however, is the correlation outside of the north-east of urban areas and clusters of finds around them, indicating that much detecting is undertaken near to these urban areas.

The most important factor here is the limit of plough-zone farming above which only 106 finds have been made, although settlement in these areas is historically sparse. The pattern of finds is interesting in comparison to the road networks, especially in the Vale of York where clusters of finds have been made along the major Roman roads to York as has been seen previously for Anglo-Saxon materials (Naylor 2004: 55). However, finds across the region also correlate well with modern A-roads, and it is difficult to assess whether the finds relate to metal-detectorists working near A-roads, targeting the routes of Roman roads, or whether finds tend to be more prolific near Roman roads, especially given that Roman finds are most prolific in the PAS database. Finally, few finds have been recovered north of Newcastle owing to problems of gaining permission for detectorists to access land (David Petts pers. comm.).

The dearth of finds in highland areas is not unexpected given both the lack of cultivated land and the historically low density of settlement. This is also true for the difference in the numbers of records between the east and west of the region.
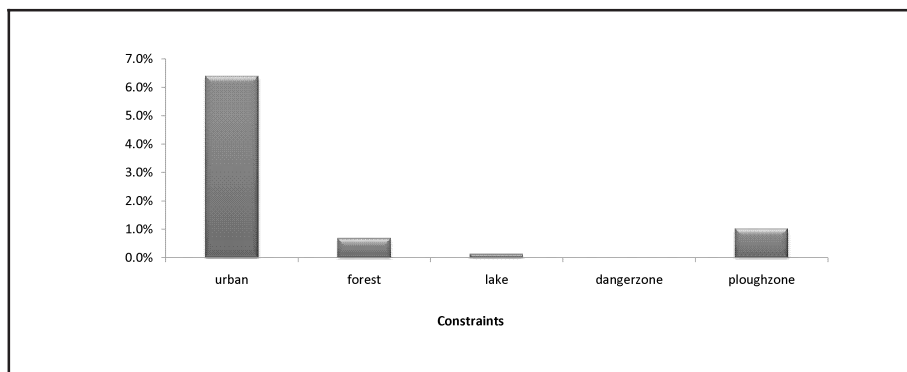
Graph 2. Chart showing constraints on data recovery in Northumbria.

As a result, it is unlikely that areas above the limit for plough-zone farming would have produced large amounts of portable antiquities. However, other areas outside of the plough zone, especially urban areas, have a profound effect on finds recovery. The lack of material from built-up parts of the region is of no surprise, but the clusters of finds around many towns and cities was less expected and must reflect that many detectorists stay in their locality travelling short distances to surrounding farmland. Other parts of northern England are magnets for detectorists (and, indeed, archaeologists), the most prominent being the western side of the Yorkshire Wolds and southern Vale of York, which has the highest finds density in the area. Many detector users travel from both the north-east and north-west to detect in these areas. This area is, however, a historically known 'core' area for settlement and so large numbers of finds are expected.

Portable Antiquities in Early Medieval Northumbria

The combination of lowland, highland, and wetland mixed with varying local climatic conditions means that patterns of early medieval settlement in Northumbria are in no way uniform. Higham's (1987) examination of long-term agricultural potential argued that lowland regions east of the Pennines held the best agricultural lands both for arable and pastoral regimes, although at least some of these lowland regions may be susceptible to waterlogging as in parts of the Vale of York. He considered the Yorkshire Wolds as a 'core' region with the longest probable growing season and most likely advantageous conditions during periods of climatic downturns, including the later sixth to ninth centuries. West of the Pennines, there were good-quality soils in the lowland areas of southern Cumbria

and into Lancashire, although the growing season was probably markedly lower here than in the east. The poor soils in the Lake District, Cheviots, North Yorkshire Moors, and higher slopes of the Pennines were all constraints on settlement, and all of these regions were more likely to be sparsely populated (Higham 1987). Environmental constraints on early medieval settlement have also been identified through the extensive work of the Humber Wetlands Survey. Van de Noort (2000) has argued that large tracts of the Holderness Plain, Hull Valley, and the southern Vale of York were regularly flooded from the fifth to ninth centuries with low levels of exploitation in these areas, except for meadowland and their attendant settlement probably on free-draining soils nearby. In the west, areas of mossland and marshland, in Cheshire and Lancashire especially, have inhibited settlement (Higham 2004: fig. 7.4). In addition, a likely post-Roman marine transgression in many wetland areas of northern England resulted in a loss of settlement or agricultural use in these areas for some time (Higham 2004: 129). Brian Roberts (2008) has mapped the patterns of woodland in northern England for the middle to late Saxon period (*c.* 700–1086), based on place-name and Domesday evidence. This indicates extensive tracts of woodland in the Holderness Plain, extending north into the Vale of York and continuing along the eastern fringes of the Pennines. In Cumbria much of the lowland areas of the north-west was also wooded.

Far more is known regarding early medieval settlement patterns east of the Pennines than to the west, although as the above section illustrates, this may reflect the density of settlement as much as any underlying research priorities.

The mapping of undated crop marks in the Vale of York and on parts of the Yorkshire Wolds has shown varying but extensive settlement of which many are of possible early medieval date (Richards 2000: 36). In the Vale of York these are mostly located some distance from the main river channels of the Ouse and Derwent on slightly higher ground, although post-Roman flooding may be a factor in settlement visibility (Van de Noort 2000: 129). On a broader scale, there are too few excavated Anglo-Saxon settlements to assess distribution patterns, but fifth- to eighth-century burials and cemeteries in the north of England may give some indication. Lucy's work on burial east of the Pennines has shown very little material known north of the Tyne or between the Tees and the Derwent (1999: 16–20). More extensive evidence comes from between the Tees and the Tyne, within a 25km zone along the coast, but the region's major concentration of burial evidence comes from East Yorkshire, mostly on the Wolds. Higham (2004: 25) has stated that fifth- to seventh-century burial sites west of the Pennines are virtually non-existent, but pre-Viking settlement patterns can in part be sketched through

study of pre-English place-names. These are mostly confined to areas below 300m OD, and there are few known from the Mersey Plain.

The distribution of pre-Viking ecclesiastical foundations in northern England is also of interest. Morris (1989) shows through the combined evidence of stone sculpture, written sources, and place-names that these sites follow the general settlement patterns as suggested by Higham (1987). He identifies large numbers of religious sites east of the Pennines, especially from the Vale of York northwards towards Bishop Auckland, mostly following the Roman roads; along the western and northern edges on the Yorkshire Wolds; more sparsely distributed along the coastlines from North Yorkshire to Lindisfarne; and from the east coast towards Hexham along the Roman road network. West of the Pennines far fewer foundations are known, although a small concentration in the Lancaster area is visible. Blair (2005: 193) has also noted that most minsters appear to be located near water, although in Northumbria it is apparent that overland routes were also a focus (Hill 1966, cited in Blair 2005: 194n). Alongside this, Anglo-Scandinavian place-name evidence (e.g. Loyn 1977; Higham 2004) provides some of the most extensive data available for pre-Conquest settlement patterns. This shows again that the lowlands and river valleys probably represent areas of densest occupation, especially from the Vale of York to the Tees Valley, the Yorkshire Wolds, and the coastline from the mouth of the Tees to Whitby. The lowlands of Lancashire and Cumbria/Westmorland have the highest level of Anglo-Scandinavian place-name survival west of the Pennines. A line of trans-Pennine settlement lies along the slightly lower ground (below 300m OD) between Harrogate and Burnley. The upland areas of County Durham and Northumberland are more sparsely covered.

The overall pattern produced by these sources of evidence suggests that the south-east of northern England, encompassing the Vale of York, the Yorkshire Wolds, and parts of the Tees Valley, may be the area of historically densest settlement. West of the Pennines was also well populated but probably not to the same extent. The eastern area north of the Tees, and especially north of the Tyne, shows the sparsest settlement patterns, although the archaeological evidence from sites such as Yeavering and Millfield are indicative of a larger potential population. Roberts (2008) has used the combined evidence to suggest a number of 'cultural cores' in northern England. These are identified by Old English place-names associated with anciently cleared and settled land, combined with a lack of recorded woodland by 1086. They are centred on the Yorkshire Wolds, northern Vale of York, the region between the Rivers Tees and Tyne, the coastal zone of Northumberland, and patches of northern Cumbria (no attempt was made to define zones in Lancashire). These tend to follow lowland areas, coastal zones, major river

valleys, and regions of high agricultural potential, such as the Yorkshire Wolds, and it is unsurprising that these would eventually form settlement cores. In this form, however, Roberts's mapping provides an extremely useful comparative element.

The EMC and PAS datasets have broadly comparable distributions across Northumbria, with heavy concentrations on the Yorkshire Wolds and along the rivers of the southern Vale of York (Plate IIa). This pattern becomes increasingly sparse north and west. In York and on the Wolds coinage is very much predominant, most of which was recorded by the EMC before the PAS's instigation in 1997. Also many of the York finds come from excavated sites around the city, and this is not reflected on the PAS where the artefacts from these same excavations are not listed. On the Wolds most of these finds are ninth-century stycas, as are over half of the York coins. As a result, the two datasets can be seen as comparable although care is needed in interpretation of the artefact fingerprint for the region and for the nature of the use and availability of non-coin material culture versus coinage on the Wolds and around York, where it appears that non-coin material culture may be under-represented.

When the distribution of early medieval finds is compared against finds of all periods (Map 12) there are some significant differences. Fewer finds have been made along the Northumberland coastline, and virtually no early medieval finds have been made from West Yorkshire to the Lancashire coast, although Roberts's assertions regarding woodland may be of note here. The absence of early medieval finds in coastal Lancashire compared with the overall PAS distribution is confirmed as a real scarcity of settlement activity. Finally, very few early medieval finds have been made in Cumbria compared to the overall figures, but these are broadly distributed and not confined to any one region. Within these distributions, the locations of the productive sites follow this trend concentrated on the routes to York and on the Yorkshire Wolds (Naylor 2007; Richards 1999b). None are known north of the Tees or in the north-west, although the excavated sites such as Whithorn, Bamburgh, Jarrow/Monkwearmouth, and Hartlepool can be considered in this category. It does appear, however, that away from the 'core' area further south such sites are restricted to the coastal zone, illustrating perhaps that the major economic and communication networks of early medieval Europe did not extend much further north than York and Whitby.

When the PAS data is broken down by broad period sub-divisions (Graph 3) it is apparent that in Northumbria there are proportionally high numbers of Middle Saxon and Middle/Late Saxon records and a low proportion of Late Saxon records compared to the national picture (Graph 4). However, one should be cautious in interpreting this as reflecting reduced levels of activity in this region in
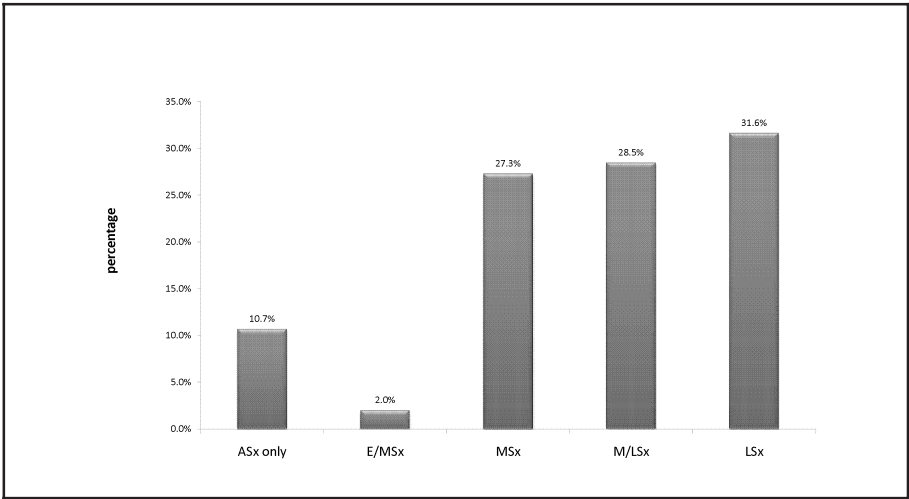
Graph 3. Chart showing proportion of PAS finds in Northumbria categorized by broad period.
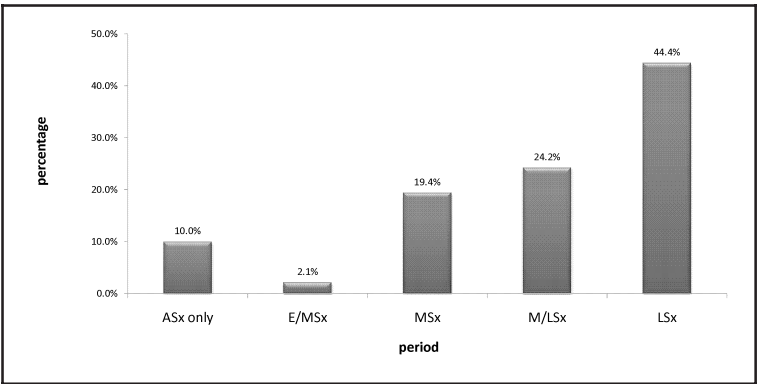
Graph 4. Chart showing proportion of PAS early medieval finds categorized by broad period.

the Late Saxon period. Several factors associated with the dating of finds may help explain the regional difference. Firstly, there is a large number of pins recorded for this region, and these have been given a broad Middle Saxon date. Secondly, there are very low levels of horse-related items (stirrup-strap mounts, stirrup terminals, etc.) of Late Saxon date, but this may relate to cultural factors rather than level of activity. Finally, the Middle/Late Saxon group in Northumbria is dominated by strap ends, mostly of likely ninth- to tenth-century date, and may include a number of Late Saxon buckles including the bulging-eyed Northumbrian type.
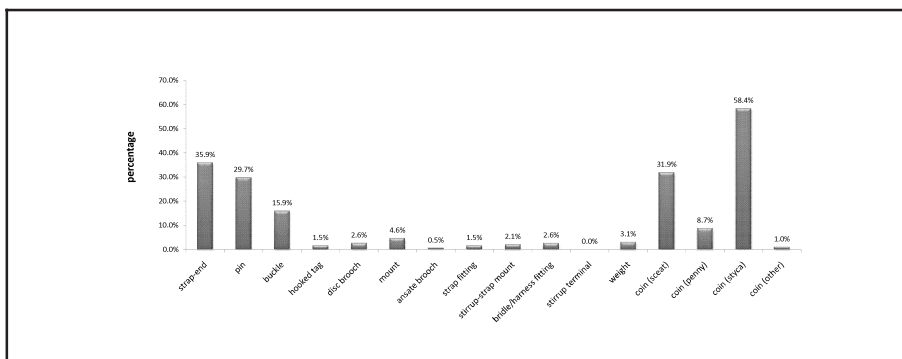
Graph 5. The artefact 'fingerprint' for Northumbria.
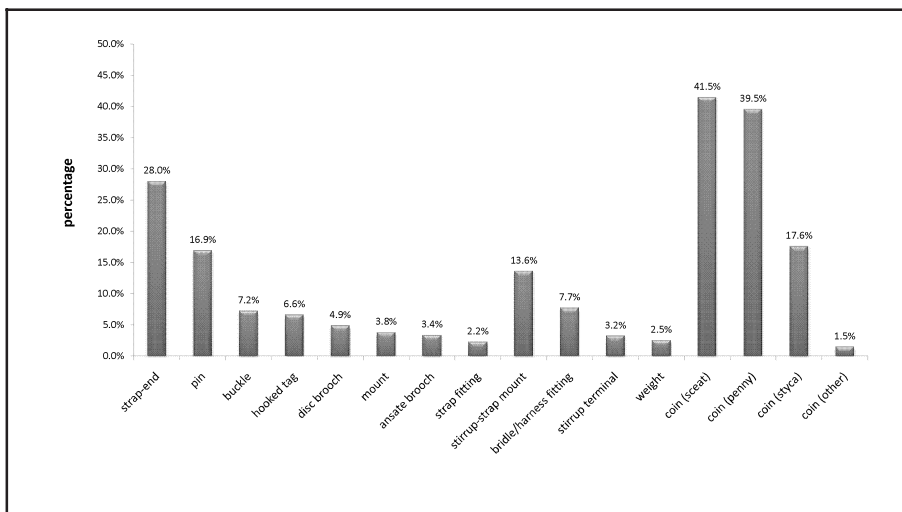
Graph 6. The artefact 'fingerprint' for the VASLE National dataset
(for artefact categories with greater than fifty records).

The artefact fingerprint for Northumbria (Graph 5) shows that by proportion there is a narrow range of material culture compared to the national scale (Graph 6), especially for horse-related items. The high volume of stycas skews the coinage breakdown greatly, but there are also very few pennies, all of which would have been imported before *c.* 900. There is a preponderance of strap-ends and pins generally, and a higher proportion of pins than in other parts of England. The coinage fingerprint (Graph 7) reflects the high volume of styca coinage up to *c.* 870 (Naylor 2007). Thereafter there are very low numbers of coins reported from the late ninth century to 1066, compared with the national picture (Graph 8).
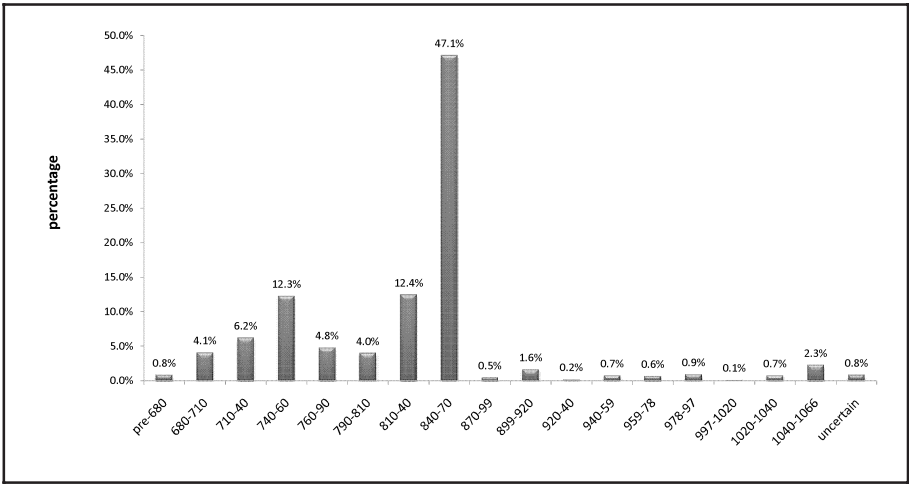
Graph 7. The coinage 'fingerprint' for Northumbria.
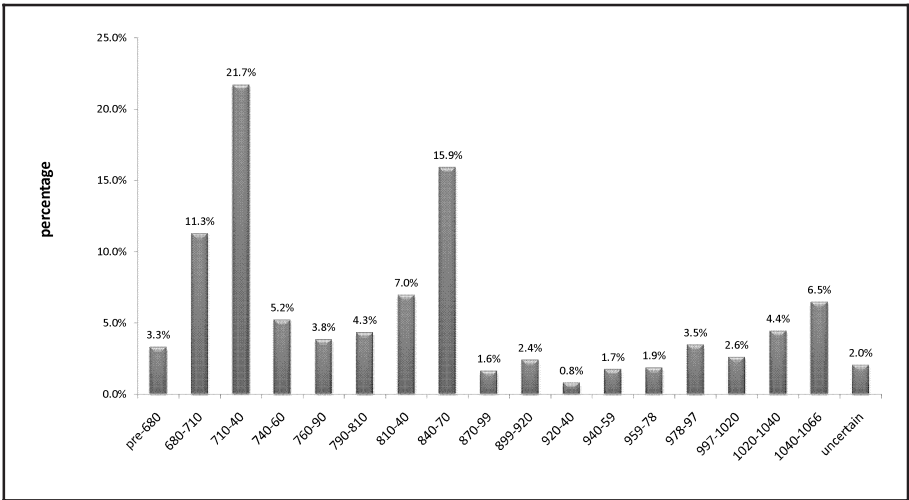
Graph 8. The coinage 'fingerprint' for the VASLE National dataset.

Conclusion

The VASLE project has been the first systematic attempt to make use of the finds recovered by metal-detector users to understand the landscape and economy of early medieval England. It has proceeded with an incremental narrowing of focus from a national scale, to regional studies, to a site-based focus, with each level providing a context and foundation for the next stage of analysis.

Objective 1 has demonstrated that distribution maps of metal-detected finds are subject to a complex interplay of biasing factors. The VASLE project has attempted to create a constraints map, which provides a visibility template, indicating areas where there is a real absence of finds, as opposed to regions where finds have not been discovered or reported. It has revealed some interesting biasing factors, such as concentrations of finds just beyond urban conurbations, as well as linear spreads of finds which may be as much to do with modern motorways and trunk roads as the Roman and Anglo-Saxon routes they often overlie.

The overall PAS dataset provides a control against which the database of early medieval finds can be compared. This reveals some regions where metal-detector users have recovered many artefacts, but very few dated from AD 700–1100. The north-west of England is particularly sparse, and this must reflect a lack of Northumbrian cultural penetration westwards, even if political hegemony was gained.

The VASLE project has also developed a series of 'fingerprint' charts which allow the comparison of proportions of coinage and other artefact categories between regions. These charts reveal that whilst the categories of finds are broadly similar across the country, there are significant differences in the proportions of different classes of artefacts across different regions. Northern England and Northumbria stand out, for example, not just for their copper-alloy styca coinage, but for differences in dress fashion as well, including the more common occurrence of dress pins.

In conclusion, the distribution of portable antiquities in Northumbria is greatly affected by topography and constrained by the limits of plough-zone agriculture. Nonetheless it does appear that the distribution of early medieval finds follows the likely core areas of settlement so it indicates that we can trace something of the ancient settlement patterns of northern England through portable antiquities. There does certainly seem to be declining access to metalwork and coinage the further west and north travelled, even within the remits of the constraints discussed above. It seems possible that northern England was at the limits of the North Sea cultural zone. In northern England a narrower range of material culture is present, with marked differences in material dated to the Late Saxon period especially. There is a very different coinage signature showing very different evolutionary trends in the use of coinage. There are also chronological variations compared to the south, possibly again reflecting the lack of comparable Late Saxon material (particularly horse-related material culture). Within this, indigenous trends must be seen, for example in strap-ends (e.g. Thomas 2006) and buckles, and a lack of use of objects such as hooked tags and horse ornaments. Overall this reinforces that for much of this period Northumbria operated as a distinctive cultural zone, reflecting the

independent political and economic polities of Middle and Late Saxon England, present even in material culture.

Acknowledgements

References

Blair, J. 2005. *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

Dobinson, C., and S. Denison. 1995. *Metal Detecting and Archaeology in England* (York: Council for British Archaeology)

Grierson, P., and M. Blackburn. 1986. *Medieval European Coinage, with a Catalogue of the Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, vol. I: *The Early Middle Ages (5th–10th Centuries)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Higham, N. 1987. 'Landuse and Landscape in Northern England: A Survey of Agricultural Potential, *c.*500 BC–AD 1000', *Landscape History*, 9: 35–44

———. 2004. *A Frontier Landscape: The North-west in the Middle Ages* (Macclesfield: Windgather)

Hill, R. 1966. 'Christianity and Geography in Early Northumbria', *Studies in Church History*, 3: 126–39

Hinton, D. A. 1975. 'Late Anglo-Saxon Metalwork: An Assessment', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 4: 171–80

Leahy, K. 2000. 'Middle Anglo-Saxon Metalwork from South Newbald and the "Productive Site" Phenomenon in Yorkshire', in *Early Deira: Archaeological Studies of the East Riding in the Fourth to Ninth Centuries AD*, ed. by H. Geake and J. Kenny (Oxford: Oxbow), 51–82

Loyn, H. 1977. *The Vikings in Britain* (London: Batsford)

Lucy, S. 1999. 'Changing Burial Rites in Northumbria', in *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. by J. Hawkes and S. Mills (Stroud: Sutton), 12–43

Metcalf, D. M. 1993–94. *Thrymsas and Sceattas in the Ashmolean Museum Oxford*, vols I–III (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum and Royal Numismatic Society)

Morris, R. 1989. *Churches in the Landscape* (London: Dent)

Naylor, J. 2004. *An Archaeology of Trade in Middle Saxon England*, BAR British Series, 376 (Oxford: Archaeopress)

———. 2007. 'The Circulation of Early-Medieval European Coinage: A Case Study from Yorkshire, c.650–c.867', *Medieval Archaeology*, 51: 41–61

Naylor, J., and J. D. Richards. 2005. 'Third-Party Data for First Class Research', *Archeologia e Calcolatori*, 16: 83–91

Paynton, C. 2006. 'Is the War Finally Over?', *Current Archaeology*, 206: 38–39

Richards, J. D. 1999a. 'Cottam: An Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds', *Archaeological Journal*, 156: 1–110

———. 1999b, 'What's So Special about "Productive Sites"? Middle Saxon Settlements in Northumbria', in *The Making of Kingdoms*, ed. by T. Dickinson and D. Griffiths, special issue, *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 10: 71–80

———. 2000. 'Anglo-Saxon Settlements and Archaeological Visibility in the Yorkshire Wolds', in *Early Deira: Archaeological Studies of the East Riding in the Fourth to Ninth Centuries AD*, ed. by H. Geake and J. Kenny (Oxford: Oxbow), 27–39

Richards, J. D., and J. Naylor. 2008. 'The Real Value of Buried Treasure. VASLE: The Viking and Anglo-Saxon Landscape and Economy Project', in *Metal Detecting and Archaeology: The Relationships between Archaeologists and Metal Detector Users*, ed. by P. Stone and S. Thomas (Woodbridge: Boydell), 167–79

Richards, J. D., and others. 2009a. *The Viking and Anglo-Saxon Landscape and Economy (VASLE) Project*, <http://ads.ahds.ac.uk/-catalogue/resources.html?vasle_ahrc_2008>

———. 2009b. 'Anglo-Saxon Landscape and Economy: Using Portable Antiquities to Study Anglo-Saxon and Viking Age England', *Internet Archaeology*, 25, <http://intarch.ac.uk/journal/issue25/>

Roberts, B. K. 2008. *Landscapes, Documents and Maps: Villages in Northern England and Beyond, AD 900–1250* (Oxford: Oxbow)

Thomas, G. 2006. 'Reflections on a "9th-Century" Northumbrian Metalworking Tradition: A Silver Hoard from Poppleton, North Yorkshire', *Medieval Archaeology*, 50: 143–64

Ulmschneider, K. 1999. 'Archaeology, History, and the Isle of Wight in the Middle Saxon Period', *Medieval Archaeology*, 43: 19–44

———. 2000. *Markets, Minsters, and Metal-detectors: The Archaeology of Middle Saxon Lincolnshire and Hampshire Compared*, BAR British Series, 307 (Oxford: Archaeopress)

Van de Noort, R. 2000. 'Where Are Yorkshire's "Terps"? Wetland Exploitation in the Early Medieval Period', in *Early Deira: Archaeological Studies of the East Riding in the Fourth to Ninth Centuries AD*, ed. by H. Geake and J. Kenny (Oxford: Oxbow), 121–31

Van de Noort, R., and S. Ellis. 1995. *The Wetland Heritage of Holderness: An Archaeological Survey* (Hull: Humber Wetlands Project, University of Hull)

LOCAL CHURCHES AND THE CONQUEST OF THE NORTH: ELITE PATRONAGE AND IDENTITY IN SAXO-NORMAN NORTHUMBRIA

Aleksandra McClain

Introduction

The political and cultural upheaval of the Norman Conquest, especially as it occurred in the north of England, offers a compelling event around which to frame an archaeological discussion of the process of sociocultural transition, as well as its wider implications for material culture and patronal behaviour. It is hardly the only invasion and settlement to which the lands of Northumbria were subjected, and the incursions of the Scandinavians and the Scottish were equally influential, if not more so, on the long-term cultural and political identity of north-eastern England (Aird 1997: 30–31; Hadley 2001: 307). Nevertheless, the Saxo-Norman transition bears enormous potential for study in this region. The transition occurred in the midst of a crucial juncture in the development of medieval society, when a number of social and ecclesiastical trends were being realized. Settlement expansion and replanning, increased levels of manorialization and tenurial complexity, the expansion of the monetary economy and market commerce, and the growing influence of local, mesne lords are visible throughout England during this period (Britnell 1995: 7; Dyer 2002: 102; Newman 1988: 21).

Accompanying these secular changes were significant shifts in the ecclesiastical sphere, most significantly the ongoing breakdown and modification of the minster system and its wide-ranging jurisdictions (Blair 1988: 7), and the resulting intensification of secular, local, proto-parochial church foundation and patronage (Blair 1996: 12). This in turn fundamentally influenced the eleventh- and twelfth-

century 'Great Rebuilding' of wooden churches in stone (Blair 1988; Gem 1988; Morris 1989), as well as the flourishing of churchyard burial and stone commemorative markers for the secular elite (Everson and Stocker 1999; Lang 1991; 2001). While all of these developments originated independently of the Norman Conquest, they were also profoundly affected and influenced by it. Aspects of these ongoing processes were in many cases actively manipulated by the elite of Northumbria in the complex negotiation of hierarchies, allegiances, and social identities that characterized the transition.

In recent scholarship, archaeology has been recognized to be of paramount importance in furthering our understanding of transition periods, emphasizing the role of material culture as an active agent in mediating social change (Gaimster and Gilchrist 2003; Gaimster and Stamper 1997; Giles 2000; Hadley and Richards 2000). Material expression and display were integral means through which people adapted to and dealt with turbulent events and reinforced or changed social, cultural, collective, and individual identities, as the need arose. It is thus worthwhile to examine the ways in which the patronage of material culture, in this instance architectural fabric and commemorative monuments in local churches, was employed by the elite in order to establish and maintain their authority and social location in a time of transition. The bulk of the data discussed here is drawn from research conducted into the parish churches and funerary monuments of the North Riding of Yorkshire in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries (McClain 2005). These detailed results will also be compared with material from County Durham and Northumberland, in order to assess the implications of the Saxo-Norman transition throughout Northumbria. The discussion will thus shed light on the complexities of a process that has often been framed in simple, antagonistic terms, particularly because of the fractiousness of the Norman takeover in the north and the supposed severity of the subsequent 'Harrying' (Allerston 1970; Bishop 1948; Holt 1997: xiv; Kapelle 1979: 3, 118; Loyn 1971: 106–07).

The particular social contexts that created the North Riding's material culture, while comparable to the experience of the whole of north-eastern England, cannot necessarily be extrapolated directly to the remainder of the region. The north-east was characterized by broad cultural and political similarities, and there is evidence that the men of the north thought of themselves and their land as separate from southern and midlands England (Cramp 1999: 2; Higham 1993: 214; Hunter Blair 1948: 125; Kapelle 1979: 11). However, early medieval Northumbria was not an internally unified or homogeneous entity (Kapelle 1979: 10). At the Conquest, there were separate political factions in York and northern Northumbria, and the region was not considered a single territorial unit by its inhabitants (Aird 1998: 60,

65). The boundary between the ancient kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira persisted in the political mindset (Aird 1994: 3) and was reinforced by the tradition of the 'lands of St Cuthbert' between the Tyne and the Tees and by the holdings of the House of Bamburgh between the Tyne and the Tweed (Aird 1998: 66). Thus, the economic, ecclesiastical, and manorial histories and landscapes of Northumberland, County Durham, and Yorkshire at times differed substantially from one another.

In religious terms, Durham and Northumberland seem to have had a richer Anglian monastic culture than Yorkshire. The city of York did not emerge as a major monastic centre until the middle of the eighth century, considerably later than the Northumbrian monasteries (Wood 2008: 13). Indeed, apart from Whitby, the best-known of Bede's 'Golden Age' monasteries, such as Monkwearmouth, Jarrow, Lindisfarne, Hartlepool, Tynemouth, and Hexham, were all located in Durham and Northumberland (Higham 1993: 155). This pattern is not only apparent in the documentary sources, but is reinforced by the concentrations of Anglian-period sculpture in the counties. In both East and North Yorkshire, only about 20 per cent of the surviving pre-Conquest sculpture dates to the ninth century or earlier, in contrast to about 60 per cent of the sculpture in Durham and Northumbria (cf. Cramp 1984; Lang 1991; 2001). Similarly, Scandinavian settlement and rule appear to have had more cultural and political influence in Yorkshire and the Tees valley than in the northern reaches of Northumbria (Hadley 2006: 71; Higham 1986: 310). Northumberland and northern Durham feature far fewer characteristically Anglo-Scandinavian cultural elements than Yorkshire, including place-names, stone sculpture, and metalwork (Cramp 1984: 29, 34; Fellows-Jensen 2000: 139; Ryder 1992: 50; Thomas 2000).

In addition, while Yorkshire was a hotbed of dissent against pre- and post-Conquest southern rule throughout the eleventh century, Durham and Northumberland seem to have been even more autonomous, more fractious, and under a lesser degree of royal control (Higham 1993: 246; Kapelle 1979: 122; McCord and Thompson 1998: 22–23). The lack of authority over the area even twenty years after the Conquest is evidenced by the fact that the Domesday inquest was conducted no further north than Yorkshire, and it is debatable whether Durham and Northumberland technically fell under English or Scottish control at that time (Aird 1997: 29; Dalton 1997: 15).

The diverse backdrops of the various regions of the north-east undoubtedly had an effect on the motives behind patronage and expenditure in the Saxo-Norman period, as well as the material culture it produced. Through close examination of the North Riding's architectural and commemorative evidence, and comparison

with data from the other Northumbrian counties, we may reveal which bodies of material culture and patronal actions represented region-wide responses to the Saxo-Norman transition, and which were products of more closely defined local contexts.

In order to understand developments in the years surrounding the Norman Conquest, and their long-term impact, the preceding ecclesiastical landscape of the Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian north-east must also be considered. The central role of churches and commemoration in the effective establishment of Anglo-Scandinavian rule and socio-political culture in Yorkshire and eastern England has been identified by scholars such as David Stocker (2000) and Dawn Hadley (2001). Newly settled Anglo-Scandinavian lords and merchants readily adopted the pre-existing Anglian practices of church foundation and stone sculpture, yet altered them in style and purpose. Their new sculptural tradition appropriated the Anglian monumental form of the standing cross and many elements of design, but also introduced an amalgamation of Scandinavian-influenced decorative conventions, Christian imagery, and secular motifs (Bailey 1996: 80–85; Lang 1991: 32, 37). Furthermore, in contrast to the large-scale crosses, sparse distribution, and ecclesiastical patrons of Anglian work, Anglo-Scandinavian funerary sculpture is typically smaller in size, seems often to be associated with secular individuals, and has been found at five times as many sites as its Anglian predecessors (Bailey 1980; 1996: 79; Lang 1991; 2001; Richards 2000a: 159; Stocker 2000: 193).

Patronage of churches by secular lords had also been a feature of the pre-Viking period (Blair 1985: 104; 2005: 102), and here again the Anglo-Scandinavians adapted and altered a pre-existing practice. Secular minster foundation had generally been the preserve of royalty or the high aristocracy (Blair 2005: 102), but the Anglo-Scandinavian lords brought ecclesiastical patronage to a local level. Fragmentation of great estates into smaller holdings allowed a new class of manorial elite to contribute prolifically to churches. But instead of preserving the monastic and canonical institutions of the Anglian minster system, they took existing churches into secular ownership and founded new proprietary chapels, and erected their funerary monuments in the churchyards (Blair 2005: 323, 385; Williams 2001: 8). In both churches and monumental sculpture, patrons coopted material languages of authority that were already established and widely understood, yet imprinted them with their own visual expressions of identity which were tied to specific social necessities of the period. Anglo-Scandinavian churches and monuments became symbols of temporal power and legitimized authority, which could communicate thegnly status, lordship, wealth, or political and cultural affinity to

both the newly conquered populace and to other members of the elite (Hadley 2000; Sidebottom 2000; Stocker 2000).

The fundamental importance of ecclesiastical material culture to the establishment of political authority and elite identity was thus solidly established by the Saxo-Norman period. Indeed, churches have long been recognized by archaeologists and architectural historians as an especially revealing form of material culture for the study of the Saxo-Norman era (Fernie 2000: 19, 208; Gem 1996: 5–6). Much scholarship has been devoted to detailing specific architectural trends and developments of the transition period (Cambridge 1994; Fernie 2000; Gem 1986; 1988; Morris 1988; Taylor and Taylor 1965; Taylor 1978). However, explorations of the social effects of patronage, and the local church's role as an arbiter of social standing and identity, have primarily concentrated on the later Middle Ages (e.g. Barnett 2000; Graves 1989). These themes have not often been emphasized in the Saxo-Norman period.

The study of churches in the specific context of the Norman Conquest has primarily focused on abbeys and cathedrals, which were generally quickly and comprehensively rebuilt in a Romanesque style in the half-century after 1066 (Fernie 2000: 27; Plant 2002; Reilly 1997). These great churches were undoubtedly powerful social statements of authority (Le Patourel 1976: 353), made by the highest levels of the Norman secular and religious aristocracy on a national scale. They, along with castles, were what J. C. Holt has called the 'blunt instruments' of power and domination (1997: 4). But local churches had an equally significant, if more subtle, role to play in the intricate negotiation of control that was necessary 'on the ground' at local levels.

The responsibility for confrontation and compromise at this level is not likely to have lain with the magnates, whose holdings encompassed numerous and wide-ranging estates and churches, but rather with the lesser manorial lords, whose power base was primarily locally or regionally defined (Everson and others 1991: 16; Mason 1976: 18; Miller and Hatcher 1978: 18–19; Stocker and Everson 2006: 74). Documentation of the twelfth century provides evidence of subtenant manorial lords being in de facto control of the churches on their estates (Page 1914: 331; 1925: 342–43), and it is likely that this had been the case since the tenth century. Anglo-Scandinavian landholders had to possess a 'bell-house and a burh-geat', most likely a church and a fortified residence, in order to claim thegnly status (Williams 1992: 225). In addition, the density and distribution patterns of surviving Anglo-Scandinavian grave markers (Stocker 2000: 186), as well as the imagery of military lordship and elite recreation that appears on some of the stones (Richards 2000a:

160), indicates that these same landholding elites were the likely patrons of many tenth- and eleventh-century funerary monuments.

While not as evocative as the imagery on Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture, secondary symbols on non-effigial grave slabs can give insight into the identity of post-Conquest local church patrons. Indeed, the use of emblems that depict occupation and status is particularly common on northern grave slabs and may stem from the region's established tradition of expressing secular identities on Christian sculpture (Butler 1987: 248) (Figure 7). Military emblems — most frequently the sword — account for over half (53 per cent) of the secondary symbols on eleventh- and twelfth-century grave slabs in North Yorkshire, mirroring the elite, thegnly/knightly identity that some patrons expressed on tenth-century monuments. Comprehensive studies in other counties have confirmed that swords are by far the most common secondary emblem on grave slabs throughout the medieval period (Ryder 1985; 1991; 2000; 2002; 2003; 2005). Apart from weapons, the most common of the other early emblems are those representing females, perhaps elite wives and daughters (22 per cent), and those representing priests and ecclesiastics (12 per cent) (McClain 2005: I, 138). This indicates a restricted class of patrons who were wealthy enough to afford stone monuments, but ones who had a vested interest in marking their lives and deaths in local churches, rather than in great monasteries. To the lesser, manorial elite, patronage of parish churches and their churchyards would have been particularly attractive. They were prominent, established, and accessible structures, located on the estates where the local lords were present and visible, and from which they drew their wealth and influence. Ecclesiastical patronage by the local elite is likely to have been particularly pertinent in the turbulence of Saxo-Norman Northumbria, where successful control may have required a calculated balance of imposed authority and integration with the institutions of the past.

Churches and Commemoration in North Yorkshire

In the North Riding of Yorkshire, the importance of local churches in the social and physical landscape is clearly established from a very early period. Combined sculptural, architectural, and documentary evidence reveals a network of at least thirty-eight possible and probable Anglian minsters and their subsidiaries, dating from the seventh to the ninth centuries (McClain 2005: I, 161; cf. Morris 1989: 144) (Map 14). Most parts of the Riding are broadly represented, although the density of distribution and the complexity of organization cannot match that
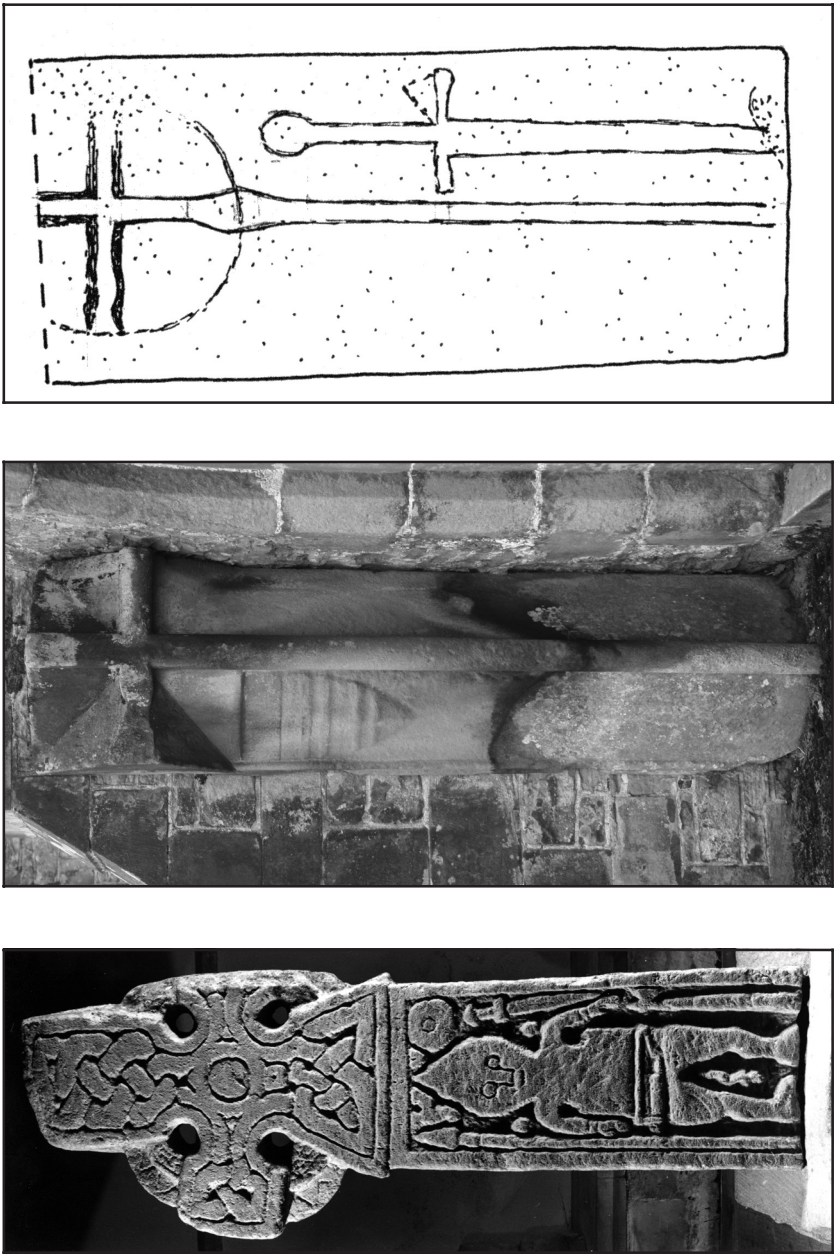
Figure 7. Funerary monuments with military/lordly imagery: (left) Middleton 2, tenth century (copyright *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, photographer T. Middlemass); (centre) Middleton Tyas 1, twelfth century; and (right) Fingall 3, twelfth century (drawing by P. F. Ryder).
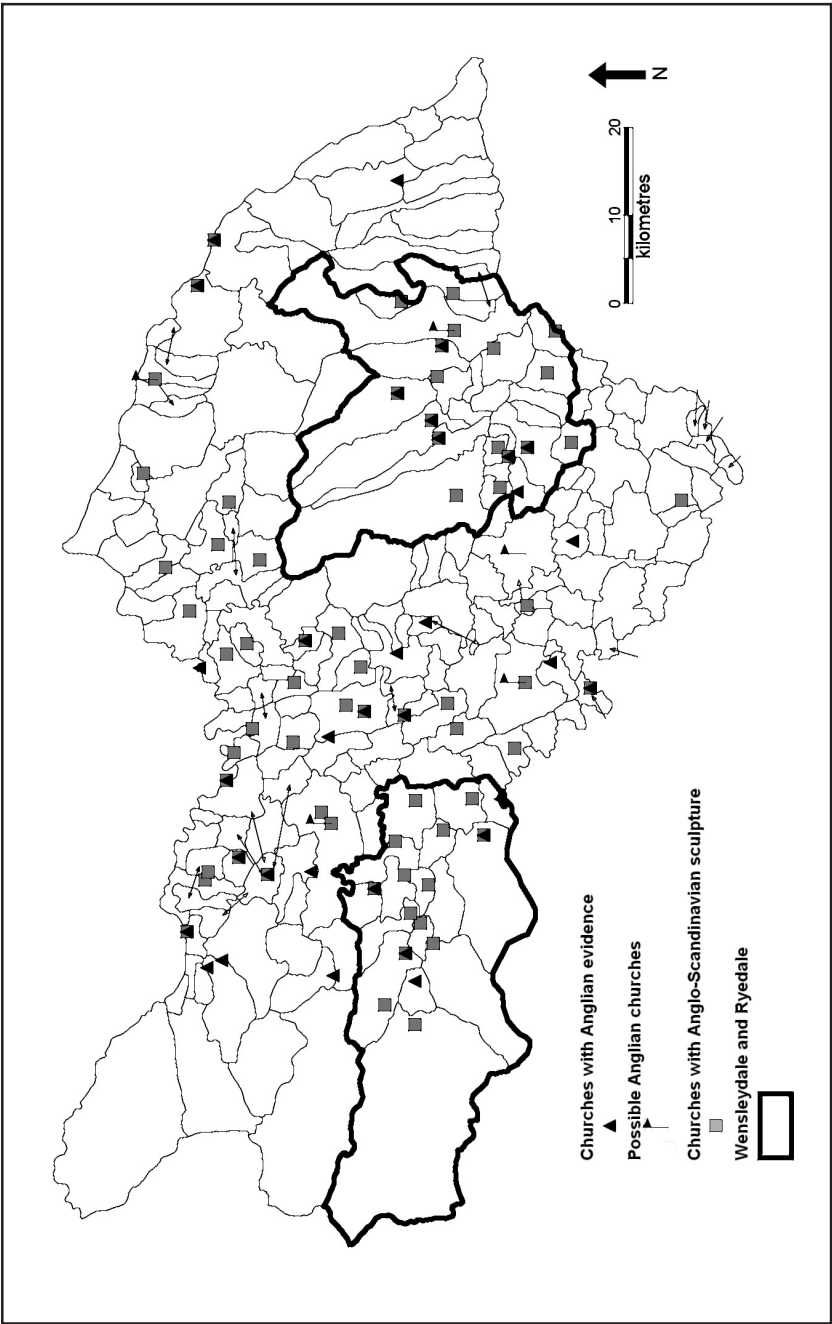
Map 14. Churches with Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian evidence in the North Riding, highlighting areas of continuity in Ryedale (east) and Wensleydale (west).

known from Wessex (Blair 2005: 300–02). It was only in the tenth and eleventh centuries, as the ecclesiastical dominance of the minsters and monasteries dissolved under pressure from estate fragmentation and the foundation of patronal chapels, that the North Riding's church provision and secular patronage began to approach its medieval heights.

Although there is no known standing architectural evidence from the tenth century in the North Riding, there was certainly no shortage of churches at that time. There are well over three hundred funerary monuments of the late ninth and tenth centuries at sixty-seven churches, which probably represent contemporary sites of Christian worship and burial (Morris 1989: 153). The distribution shows that a skeleton of the medieval parochial system had been established by this time, and in some parts of the Riding, such as Wensleydale and western Ryedale, almost all of the known medieval churches were already in existence by *c.* 950 (Map 14). In the Anglian period, there were five churches in existence in the Wensleydale area, and seven, possibly eight, in the western half of Ryedale. In these areas, the remaining gaps in the distribution were filled in during the Anglo-Scandinavian period, creating regional clusters in which nearly every manorial settlement featured a church. It is also significant that these areas seem to have been magnets for continuous architectural and commemorative patronage from the eighth to the twelfth centuries, featuring high concentrations not only of Anglian churches and Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture, but also of Saxo-Norman architecture (cf. Maps 14 and 16). Although Anglian architecture was in most cases completely overwritten by later rebuilding programmes, it is clear that a highly visible lineage of ecclesiastical history and expenditure could serve as a significant draw to patrons wishing to make their mark through social display.

If evidence from Domesday Book, architectural fabric, and funerary sculpture is considered in conjunction, at least 123 North Riding churches — or nearly half of the medieval provision of 254 churches and chapels — were in existence by *c.* 1100 (Map 15). This includes 112 of the eventual 190 (59 per cent) parish churches of the Riding, but only eleven of the sixty-four (17 per cent) medieval chapels and subsidiary churches. However, it is likely that by *c.* 1100, there were actually far more churches than the data suggest, because the evidence skews the results towards those churches that had tax value, burial rights, or stone architecture. Undoubtedly some of the remaining 131 unrepresented churches existed at the time, but were either of low value, subordinate, or ephemerally constructed.

Of the North Riding's 123 pre-1100 churches, thirty-four (28 per cent) have remnant evidence that indicates they were built in stone, demonstrating that substantial investment in their fabric had been made by patrons at an early date. The
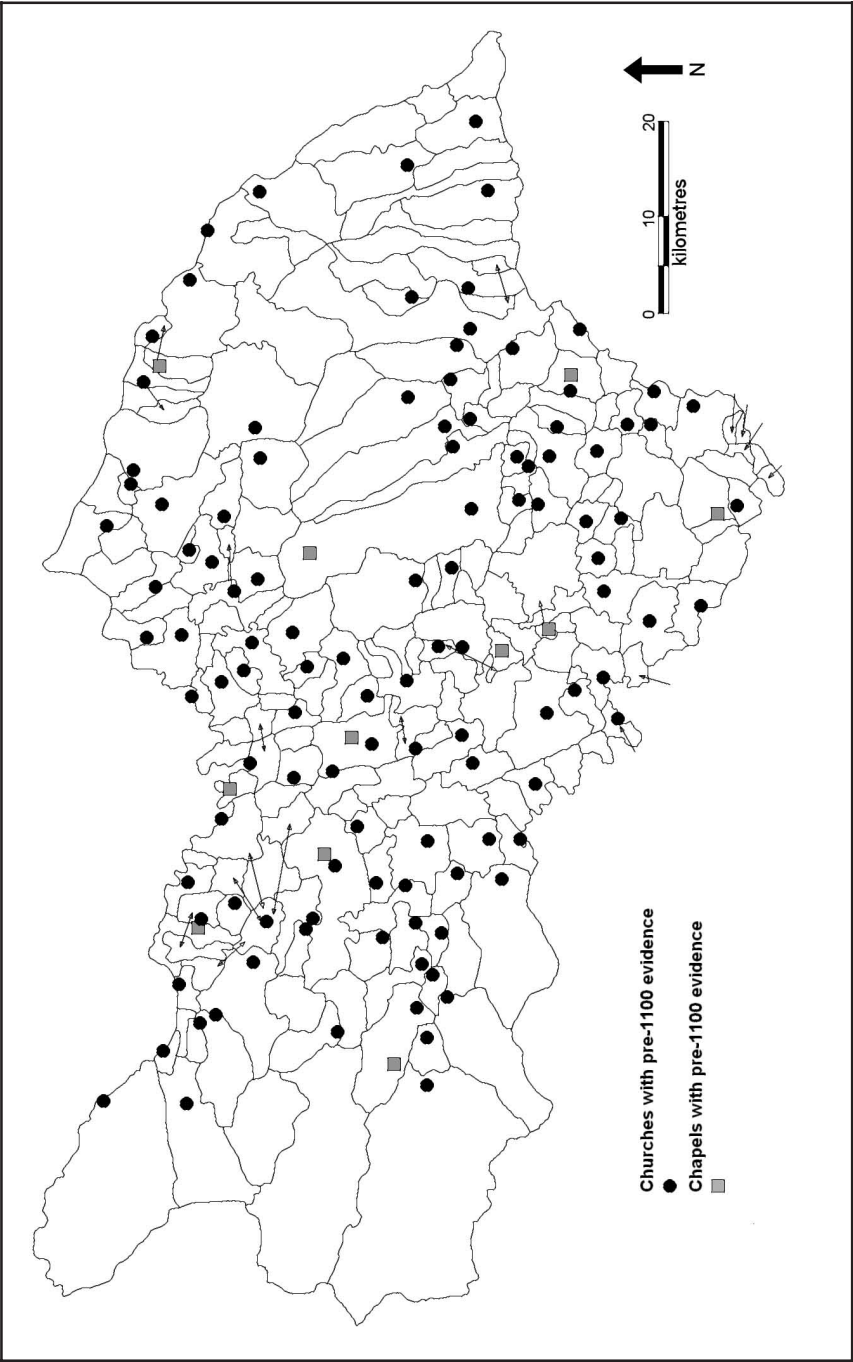
Map 15. Churches with evidence dating to *c.* 1100 or earlier, including data from architecture, sculpture, and Domesday Book.

evidence in thirty of these churches dates from the period between *c.* 1050 and 1100, while the other four have remnants of eighth-/ninth-century Anglian work. Stone architecture does not seem to have been regularly employed in the tenth century in the North Riding. At any rate, the highly developed Anglo-Saxon architecture of the late tenth century seen at Earls Barton (Northants.), Barton upon Humber (Lincs.), and Deerhurst (Glos.), is not found in the region. There is the possibility, as revealed from excavations at Wharram Percy (Beresford and Hurst 1990: 61; Mays and others 2007: 1, 327), that some Yorkshire churches without immediate Anglian predecessors may have been built in stone during the late tenth or early eleventh centuries. The discovery of an eighth-century cross fragment at Wharram may suggest an Anglian ecclesiastical presence near the tenth-century church (Lang 1991: 222; Richards 2000b: 195), although nothing is known of any earlier structure, and it is not on the same site as the later church (Mays and others 2007: 284). It seems that if there were tenth-century stone churches in North Yorkshire, as at Wharram Percy, they were not imposing enough to survive major rebuilds in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries.

From the North Riding's architectural evidence, it seems that the first substantial intensification of stone church-building in the Riding began in the second half of the eleventh century. It is difficult to tell whether stone was the dominant medium for church building at that time, but it was probably more common than the evidence here suggests, and by the twelfth century seems to have been exclusively used. Kirkdale is the only one of North Yorkshire's Saxo-Norman churches firmly datable to before the Norman Conquest. The well-known inscription on its sundial places the rebuilding of the church, of which the west doorway is the chief survival, between 1055 and 1065 (Lang 1991: 164). Similar sundials at Old Byland, Great Edstone, and Skelton-in-Cleveland are also likely to date to the mid-eleventh century (Lang 1991; 2001; Wall 1997), and imply contemporary stone churches, but none of these dials are as diagnostic as Kirkdale's, nor are they accompanied by surviving eleventh-century fabric. In fact, Old Byland's Domesday Book entry specifically cites the existence of a wooden church in the vill in 1086, further complicating the relationship between the stone sundial and Old Byland's eleventh-century church or churches, as well as highlighting the shifting nature of church fabric in this period.

In light of examinations of the 'Great Rebuilding' period and revisions of architectural dating that have been carried out by Richard Gem (1986; 1988), Richard Morris (1988), Eric Cambridge (1994), and David Stocker and Paul Everson (2006), it appears that the vast majority of the North Riding's 'Saxo-Norman' stone architecture, which is primarily preserved in west towers, should be dated to

the late eleventh century (Figure 8). This dating takes on particular significance because it demonstrates that while a programme of stone church-building no doubt began before 1066, it was taken up and intensified in the aftermath of the Conquest. However, in the North Riding, where Norman tenurial control was less firm and native retention of land and subtenancy were sometimes necessary (Finn 1972: 27), this intensification does not imply a unified, ethnically defined 'Norman' building programme of domination. Neither does the retention of several 'Saxon' stylistic features necessarily represent native conservatism or resistance. Many of these churches may have been the product of new Norman patrons establishing dominance through rebuilding programmes and conspicuous expenditure, but with elements of style familiar to the region, its inhabitants, and its masons. Equally, others may have been the product of native patrons demonstrating that their power and wealth were still viable, perhaps even in an attempt to gain favour and status with the Norman overlords who now controlled land distribution.

The overtones of ethnic and cultural dominance that accompanied Norman architectural and sculptural styles could benefit patrons in certain situations, but as had happened in the Anglo-Scandinavian period, ethnic identity was often subordinated to the concerns and necessities of effective lordship, and to the overarching importance of elite identity (Blair 2005: 293). As Richard Morris has pointed out, Saxo-Norman churches were not the last remnants of a dying style, but rather the first examples of a newly created one (Morris 1988: 197), which had been born out of the necessary melding and negotiation of Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Scandinavian, and Norman political and ethnic cultures in late eleventh-century Yorkshire.

Funerary monuments of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, of which there are thirty-four at twenty-three churches in the Riding, are similarly ambiguous about cultural identity. While some monuments feature geometric patterns that can be tied to the developing Norman Romanesque architectural style, just as many are idiosyncratic pieces that meld the forms and motifs of Anglo-Scandinavian and recognizably post-Conquest work (Figure 9). Interestingly, these monuments tend to be found in more northerly, isolated, and peripheral parts of the Riding — a distributional pattern diametrically opposed to that of Saxo-Norman architecture (Map 16). There are sixteen churches with Saxo-Norman sculpture above the line of the North York Moors, but there are only four that have Saxo-Norman architecture. In contrast, there are twenty-six churches with eleventh-century architecture at or below that midline, but only seven with contemporary sculpture.

It seems that eleventh-century stone architecture was primarily produced in well-connected, populous, primary settlement areas, while Saxo-Norman sculpture was far more common on the tenurial and political peripheries. Centralized

Figure 8. Saxo-Norman west tower, Appleton-le-Street, North Riding of Yorkshire.
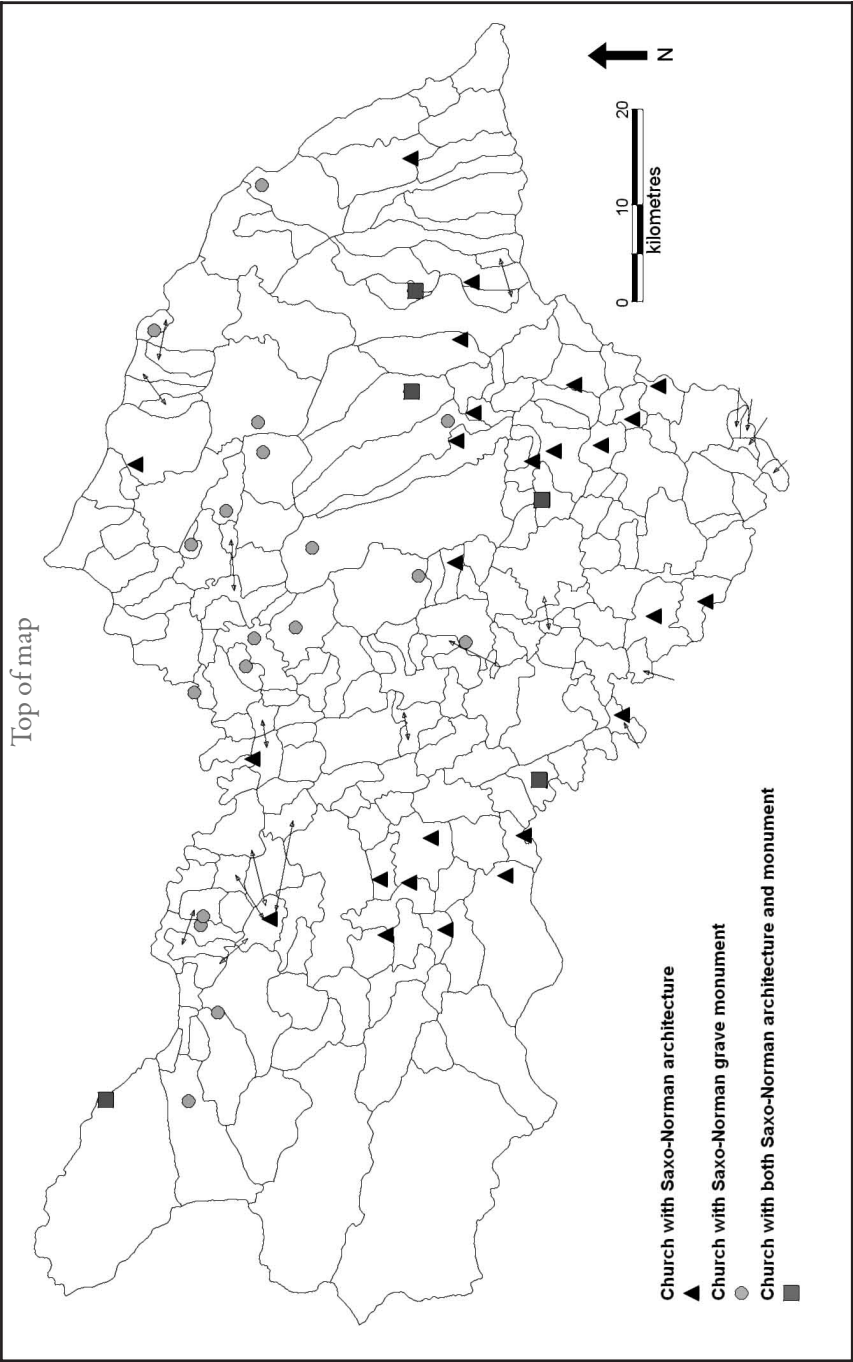
Map 16. Spatial distributions of Saxo-Norman architecture and Saxo-Norman sculpture.
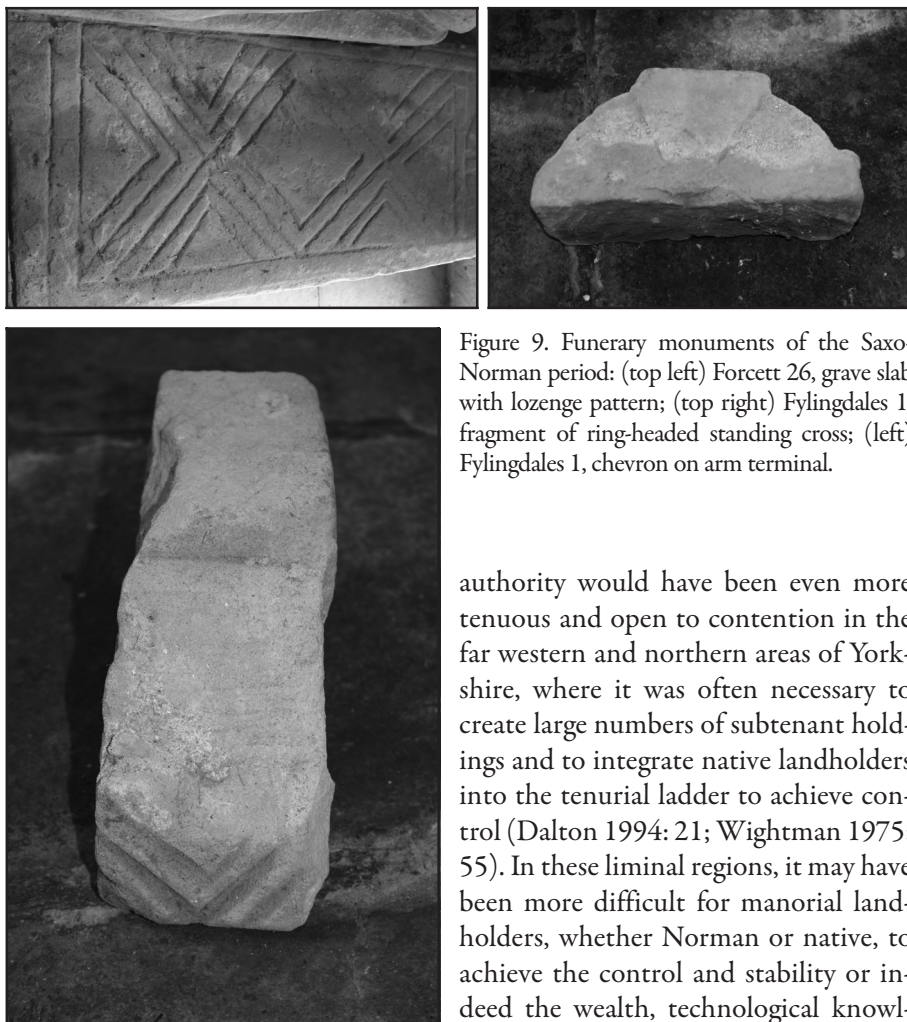
Figure 9. Funerary monuments of the Saxo-Norman period: (top left) Forcett 26, grave slab with lozenge pattern; (top right) Fylingdales 1, fragment of ring-headed standing cross; (left) Fylingdales 1, chevron on arm terminal.

authority would have been even more tenuous and open to contention in the far western and northern areas of Yorkshire, where it was often necessary to create large numbers of subtenant holdings and to integrate native landholders into the tenurial ladder to achieve control (Dalton 1994: 21; Wightman 1975: 55). In these liminal regions, it may have been more difficult for manorial landholders, whether Norman or native, to achieve the control and stability or indeed the wealth, technological knowledge, and skilled manpower necessary to effect a full rebuilding of extant local churches. Instead, patronal focus may have shifted to a more accessible but still permanent medium, such as monuments made by local sculptors. Both the architectural and commemorative patterns indicate that patronage of these media was an established and valued mode of elite display, regardless of the cultural affiliation of the lord. Expenditure on churches or monuments was vital for any member of the landholding elite who wished to make a tangible statement, in a permanent medium, about his or her family's place in a shifting social hierarchy.

It is clear that in the North Riding, a substantial part of the later medieval parochial system was established by *c.* 1100, and in most of the Riding, the churches of the later medieval period did not colonize new, churchless regions, but rather filled out this already-present framework. The numerous and widely distributed churches of the Saxo-Norman period support revisionist interpretations of the intensity of devastation caused by the Harrying of the North (e.g. Dalton 1994: 1; Palliser 1993), and do not reflect the traditional and still pervasive portrait of Yorkshire as an impoverished and desolate land in the decades following the Conquest (e.g. Higham 1993: 233; Kapelle 1979: 162). The presence of a great number of newly built stone churches, commemorative monuments, and churches and priests recorded in Domesday Book indicate an active spiritual, economic, and social life throughout the North Riding in the last decades of the eleventh century, rather than the bleak pictures painted by chroniclers such as Symeon of Durham and Orderic Vitalis (Palliser 1993: 3). Even if Domesday Book values suggest that North Yorkshire was not as agriculturally prosperous or as densely peopled as other regions of the country (Maxwell 1962), the highly developed system of local churches and churchyards indicates that its elite were not only aware of wider national trends of church-building and commemoration, but were actively and intensively pursuing them.

The trends towards stone church building and commemoration that had been firmly established in the Anglo-Scandinavian and Saxo-Norman periods continued unabated into the twelfth century, and at an even greater intensity. Some evidence of patronage is shown at 174 of the 190 parish churches (92 per cent) and twenty-eight of sixty-four chapels (44 per cent), whether architecture, font, or funerary monument, during the twelfth century. This is noteworthy not only in that at least 80 per cent of the Riding's medieval churches and chapels were in existence by this time, but that the programme of expenditure at parish churches was nearly comprehensive. Almost every parish church in the North Riding was undergoing architectural refurbishment during the twelfth century, at a rate that would not be approached again until the fifteenth century.

The twelfth century also appears to be the only period in the whole of the Middle Ages in which multiple phases of construction were regularly carried out. In the North Riding, forty churches feature multiple building phases between *c.* 1100 and *c.* 1200, and three (Pickering, Salton, and Northallerton) have surviving evidence from the early, mid-, and late twelfth centuries. An additional four churches (Masham, Alne, Stonegrave, and Hackness) have a late eleventh-century phase and a further two twelfth-century phases. Indeed, only six churches with Saxo-Norman fabric have no clear evidence of being altered again in the twelfth
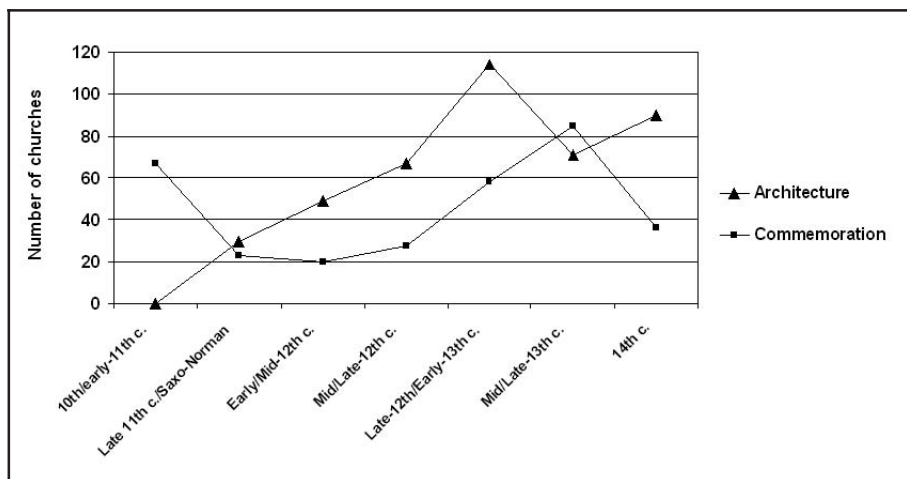
Graph 9. The rates of evidence for stone church building
and stone commemoration over time in the North Riding of Yorkshire.

century. These churches demonstrate that the Norman Conquest cannot be put forward as the primary driver behind programmes of rebuilding. However, the implementation of technological advances also cannot fully explain the programme, nor can it be reduced simply to a functional transition from wood to stone.

Most of the legislative, political, and cultural shifts directly related to the post-Conquest transition were probably accomplished by the first quarter of the twelfth century, during the reign of Henry I (Dalton 1994: 107; Hollister 1997: 14). However, a breakdown of the evidence shows that the rate of patronage of churches and monuments did not drop off at this time, but rather steadily increased until *c.* 1200 (Graph 9). The intensity of expenditure on local churches, while affected by the Conquest, was clearly not directly correlated to the imposition of Norman rule. Rather, ecclesiastical patronage seems to have been tied to the continual necessity of the manorial elite to communicate wealth and status to their subordinates, peers, and overlords — a need which was heightened in the aftermath of the Conquest, but which had existed long before it, and was equally relevant in the relative peace and prosperity of the twelfth century. Unlike the programme of building carried out at major cathedrals and abbeys, the 'Great Rebuilding' of local churches was not a neatly classifiable, monolithic statement that immediately reshaped the ecclesiastical landscape. It was instead a long, complex, multiphased undertaking which was neither unified nor driven by a single, cohesive political or cultural expediency. Moreover, in terms of intensity, the 'Great Rebuilding' of the

North Riding must be recast to encompass not only the Saxo-Norman period, but the whole of the twelfth century.

The Saxo-Norman Transition in the Northern Counties

No work of comparable breadth to that completed in North Yorkshire has yet been carried out on the churches and monuments of Saxo-Norman Durham and Northumberland (together, 'the northern counties'). Nevertheless, significant insights can be drawn through comparison of the published data for the northern counties with what is known from the North Riding. More in-depth research is clearly necessary for a better understanding of patterns of patronage in all parts of Saxo-Norman Northumbria, but until that work can be completed, this brief review will highlight some of the interesting contrasts and similarities between the Conquest experiences of Yorkshire and northern Northumbria.

In Northumberland and Durham, sixty-seven church sites feature pre-Conquest sculpture, and it is thought that around 40 per cent of the two counties' parish churches were in existence by the end of the tenth century (Morris 1989: 153–54). This is slightly higher, but comparable to the North Riding's eighty-one sites with Anglian or Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture or fragments of Anglian architectural fabric, which amounts to 32 per cent of the medieval total. Although the vast majority of the North Riding's evidence stems from Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture (Lang 1991; 2001), and the northern counties are represented more by Anglian work (Cramp 1984), the ecclesiastical provision of the two regions seems to have been broadly analogous at the cusp of the Saxo-Norman period.

Given that Durham and Northumberland were even less stable and secure than the North Riding in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, due both to Norman and Scottish pressures (Roberts 2003: 18–19), one might expect patronage and social display to have taken on even more importance. Certainly, patrons seem to have been sensitive to the legitimizing power of the past. Robin Daniels's study of fifty-seven churches and manors in the Tees valley of Durham and northern Yorkshire found that over half of the churches with pre-Conquest origins had manorial sites located adjacent to them (1996: 109–10). Although it is difficult to date the establishment of the manorial sites without excavation, or to tell whether the church and manor were contemporary foundations, it is highly likely that many of the manors also had pre-Conquest origins (Williams 1992: 233). The survival of this close association of pre-Conquest churches and manors into the later medieval period indicates that it was often beneficial for post-Conquest lords to appropriate

pre-existing centres of secular and religious authority rather than to start anew —
a precedent which had already been set by Anglo-Scandinavian and late Saxon
lords' occupation of elite middle Saxon sites (e.g. Wharram Percy, N. Yorks.;
Raunds, Northants.) (Hadley 2001: 279; Richards 2000a: 42; 2000b: 200). In areas
that were difficult to control, such as the Durham border, ruling from established
and understood sites of elite power may have provided an element of legitimacy
that facilitated social dominance.

From data provided in the Taylors' catalogues of Anglo-Saxon Architecture
(summarized in Taylor 1978: 726–30) and Pevsner's *Buildings of England* (1983;
1992), there appears to be less Saxo-Norman architectural work in both Durham and
Northumberland than in the North Riding, although it should be noted that inten-
sive study in Yorkshire has led to a recognition of significantly more architecture
of the transitional period than is listed in these surveys (McClain 2005). Durham
has thirteen and Northumberland has fifteen possible churches with fabric dating
to before *c.* 1100, but of these, only eight and eleven churches, respectively, feature
work dating to the eleventh century. The remainder retain pre-Conquest work
only of Anglian date. The church at Chester-le-Street is documented as having
been rebuilt in stone between 1042 and 1057 (Cambridge 1994: 145), demonstrat-
ing that here, too, the 'Great Rebuilding' was set in motion before the Norman
Conquest. While both northern counties do appear to participate in the eleventh-
century surge in architectural patronage, the number of churches undergoing
rebuilding at that time seems to have been fewer than in North Yorkshire.

Although it is difficult to tell without Domesday evidence, one contributing
factor may have been the difficulty in installing Norman lords as far down as the
local level in northern Durham and Northumberland. Indeed, as late as the reign
of Henry I, a number of English names can be seen in the lists of men given
important positions in the region (McCord and Thompson 1998: 30). Less revolu-
tionary changes in the tenurial hierarchy at the lower manorial levels may have led
to fewer social drivers for competitive display of status. The process of the 'Great
Rebuilding' was still obviously underway in the northern counties, but it was
perhaps lacking the boost in intensity given by the Conquest to North Yorkshire's
building patrons, where the Norman takeover was more invasive. There, the
confrontations and competitions between newly established and displaced or
reshuffled manorial lords were likely to be more frequent, and more social capital
was at stake. The relative scarcity of Saxo-Norman building in the northern coun-
ties, which has been cited as a characteristic of peripheral areas of Anglo-Norman
England (Cambridge 1994: 157–58), in some ways parallels the patterns seen in
the northern and western reaches of North Yorkshire. There too, less Norman

disruption and control and fewer resources may have meant less initial necessity for socially driven investment in churches.

Another primary factor may have been the remarkable amount of standing Anglian fabric in both Durham and Northumberland (Figure 10). Only nine churches in the North Riding have any surviving Anglian architecture, and these pieces are all fragmentary and ex situ (McClain 2005: I, 108). In contrast, there are eight examples of substantial standing Anglian architecture from Durham and Northumberland, and numerous other examples with fragmentary remains (Taylor 1978; Cramp 1984). Jarrow is documented not only as being extant in the eleventh century, but as a place of pilgrimage for Bishop Eadmund of Durham (1022–45), and Wearmouth appears to be standing, renovated, and in use in 1070. Furthermore, even after the loss of the Anglian monastic communities, the churchyards of both churches were in continuous use for burial throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries (Cramp 2005: 35, 88–89, 173). The preservation of Anglian architecture and the persistence of the ritual significance of the sites may indicate not only a stronger continuity and memory of the pre-Viking social and ecclesiastical hierarchy, but also a more compelling need for subsequent patrons to retain those material links to a recognizable and significant past.

The lack of a strong Scandinavian presence in the northern counties and high levels of English lordship throughout the Norman Conquest period may have affected attitudes to previous and newly established ecclesiastical material culture. In North Yorkshire, Anglian architectural evidence is fragmentary when it is found at all, suggesting that while the location and history of a church could draw subsequent patronage, later Anglo-Scandinavian or Anglo-Norman patrons had little use for the physical remnants of Anglian monasticism. The situation seems to have been somewhat different in Durham and Northumberland. If local landholders of the northern counties remained primarily English throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries, preserving the Anglian architectural fabric would have provided them with a strong bond to a long lineage of power and a means of preserving regional identity in the face of Scandinavian and Norman incursions. If they were Norman, their tenuous control meant that while political and economic statements like castle-building and harrying were useful tools of force, lords perhaps had more to gain at local levels by incorporating themselves into the lineage of authority, rather than rewriting it completely.

The nature of the patrons themselves in Durham and Northumberland may also have had an effect on building patterns. The vibrant monastic past of both counties led to concerted efforts of revival at many of those churches after the Norman Conquest, including Monkwearmouth/Jarrow (1070s), Tynemouth
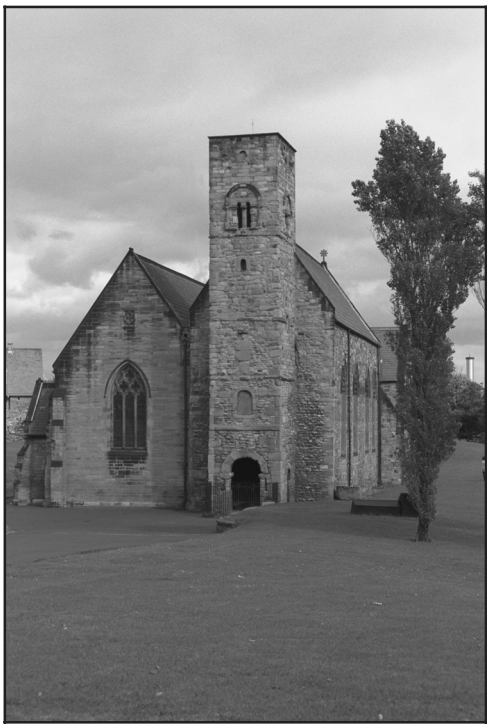
Figure 10. Anglian churches at (top) Escomb, County Durham (© Images of England, photographer Brian Wilcockson ARPS) and (left) Monkwearmouth, Northumberland (© Images of England, photographer A. Hubbard), which both feature naves dating to the seventh century. Monkwearmouth also acquired a tower in the late eleventh century.

(1090), Durham (1093), Hexham (1113), and Lindisfarne (1150), three of which still had early church buildings standing *c.* 1100. Eric Cambridge (1994: 149) has argued for ecclesiastical, rather than secular, sponsorship of some Saxo-Norman building programmes in County Durham, such as the addition of an eleventh-century tower to the standing seventh-century nave at Monkwearmouth. Ecclesiastical institutions would have had a particular interest in linking themselves to their 'Golden Age', which was tangibly achieved through active retention of the material culture of that period.

In terms of Saxo-Norman funerary monuments, County Durham, with sixteen pieces at eleven sites (Ryder 1985), has only half of the density and distribution seen in the North Riding. The church with the most grave markers (three) is at Gainford, which lies just across the Tees from the concentrations of Saxo-Norman monuments in North Yorkshire, and may well have been associated with the same social contexts that produced those slabs. Indeed, some northern Saxo-Norman slabs feature very similar decorative motifs to those found in Yorkshire, such as on the two early slabs at Gainford 28 (Ryder 1985: 87) and Whorlton 14 (N. Yorks.) (McClain 2005), which were influenced by Norman architectural motifs (Figure 11). While there is no obvious tie between the twelfth-century patrons or lordships of these two churches, the close stylistic relationship between slabs separated by more than twenty-five miles suggests regional artistic and social connections that may also have had a political dimension.

In contrast to Durham, Northumberland features a comparably high density of fifty-eight Saxo-Norman slabs at twenty-one sites (Ryder 2000; 2002; 2003), although this distribution is in some ways misleading. The majority of the Northumberland slab sites are parish churches, which have only one or two Saxo-Norman slabs each — a very similar distribution density to that seen in North Yorkshire, which suggests the patronage of the manorial lord, and perhaps his wife or a priest. However, Mitford Castle has six slabs dating to *c.* 1100, and Newcastle Castle has twenty-one. These higher concentrations of monuments are not only found at some of the few certain points of Norman strength in the whole of the county, but also in places where a number of minor lords were likely to have been living and competing with each other for status and favour, and where the opportunity to patronize ecclesiastical architectural fabric was less accessible.

It is also noteworthy that the frequency of Saxo-Norman slabs in Northumbria, which is the most remote and uncontrolled region of the north-east, is paralleled by the prevalence of Saxo-Norman slabs in the most remote and uncontrolled areas of the North Riding. This pattern may suggest that certain social necessities, technological and artistic realities, or even stylistic conservatism could be attendant
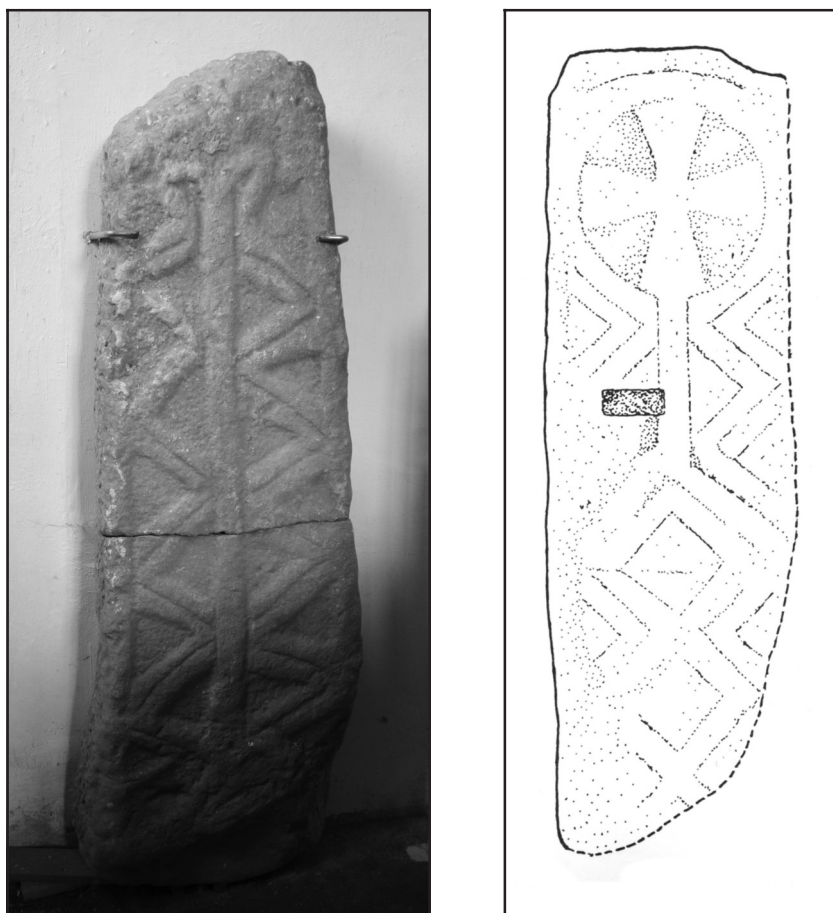
Figure 11. Late eleventh-/early twelfth-century grave slabs with zig-zag motifs: (left) Whorlton 14, North Yorkshire; (right) Gainford 28, County Durham (drawing by P. F. Ryder).

on manorial structures or the social hierarchy of liminal areas in the eleventh century. The potential of a distinct social structure to substantially impact ecclesiastical patronage has been demonstrated in eleventh- and twelfth-century Lincolnshire, where vills with high concentrations of sokemen show a marked similarity in church location and patronage schemes (Stocker and Everson 2006: 74–75). A comparable exploration of the relationship between the specific characteristics of a community and the nature of its patronage is complicated by a lack of Domesday evidence for the northern counties. Nevertheless, the question is certainly deserving of further consideration, at least to see whether these patterns are replicated in other liminal regions of northern England.

Regardless of the particular Saxo-Norman densities and distributions, a constant across all areas of Northumbria was the powerful and dynamic role played by patrons of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, whose actions shaped the eventual form, fabric, and meaning of medieval churches and monuments. The stone commemoration and stone building that were such common features of later centuries were based firmly on practices, perceptions, necessities, and elite ideals that had been revolutionized and entrenched in the Anglo-Scandinavian and Saxo-Norman periods. The tenth and eleventh centuries established a wide, proto-parochial network of local churches and graveyards across the region, and more importantly, made both architectural and monumental patronage a staple of elite social life and death. Patronage of local churches was not merely an occasional practice or pious diversion of the lordly elite, but since the tenth century, had become a defining and necessary characteristic of their social location and identity. Despite the upheaval of the Conquest, the fundamentals of lordly and elite church patronage and commemoration in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries were plainly similar to what they had been prior to the arrival of the Normans. There is no doubt that this was purposeful. By adopting, expanding, and reshaping a strong and extant foundation, rather than starting anew, Saxo-Norman patrons were negotiating the transition by communicating with their peers, subordinates, and superiors through an already established vocabulary of power and status, but employing it in the service of a new social structure.

Acknowledgments

References

Aird, W. M. 1994. 'St Cuthbert, the Scots and the Normans', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 16: 1–20

———. 1997. 'Northern England or Southern Scotland? The Anglo-Scottish Border in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries and the Problem of Perspective', in *Government, Religion and Society in Northern England, 1000–1700*, ed. by J. C. Appleby and P. Dalton (Stroud: Sutton), 27–39

———. 1998. *St Cuthbert and the Normans: The Church of Durham, 1071–1153* (Woodbridge: Boydell)

Allerston, P. 1970. 'English Village Development: Findings from the Pickering District of North Yorkshire', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 51: 95–109

Bailey, R. N. 1980. *Viking Age Sculpture in Northumbria* (London: Collins)

———. 1996. *England's Earliest Sculptors* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies)

Barnett, C. M. 2000. 'Commemoration in the Parish Church: Identity and Social Class in Late-Medieval York', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 72: 73–92

Beresford, M., and J. Hurst. 1990. *Wharram Percy: Deserted Medieval Village* (London: Batsford/English Heritage)

Bishop, T. A. M. 1948. 'The Norman Settlement of Yorkshire', in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to F. M. Powicke*, ed. by R. W. Hunt and others (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 1–14

Blair, J. 1985. 'Secular Minster Churches in Domesday Book', in *Domesday Book: A Reassessment*, ed. by P. H. Sawyer (London: Arnold), 104–42

———. 1988. 'Introduction: From Minster to Parish Church', in *Minsters and Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition, 950–1200*, ed. by J. Blair (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology), 1–19

———. 1996. 'Churches in the Early English Landscape: Social and Cultural Contexts', in *Church Archaeology: Research Directions for the Future*, ed. by J. Blair and C. Pyrah, CBA Research Report, 104 (York: Council for British Archaeology), 6–18

———. 2005. *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

Britnell, R. H. 1995. 'Commercialisation and Economic Development in England, 1000–1300', in *A Commercialising Economy, England 1086 to c.1300*, ed. by R. H. Britnell and B. M. S. Campbell (Manchester: Manchester University Press), 7–26

Butler, L. A. S. 1987. 'Symbols on Medieval Memorials', *Archaeological Journal*, 144: 246–55

Cambridge, E. 1994. 'Early Romanesque Architecture in North-East England: A Style and its Patrons', in *Anglo-Norman Durham, 1093–1193*, ed. by D. Rollason and others (Woodbridge: Boydell), 141–60

Cramp, R. 1984. *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, vol. I: *County Durham and Northumberland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

———. 1999. 'The Northumbrian Identity', in *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. by J. Hawkes and S. Mills (Stroud: Sutton), 1–11

———. 2005. *Wearmouth and Jarrow Monastic Sites*, vol. I (Swindon: English Heritage)

Dalton, P. 1994. *Conquest, Anarchy, and Lordship: Yorkshire 1066–1154* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

———. 1997. 'The Governmental Integration of the Far North, 1066–1199', in *Government, Religion and Society in Northern England, 1000–1700*, ed. by J. C. Appleby and P. Dalton (Stroud: Sutton), 14–26

Daniels, R. 1996. 'The Church, the Manor, and the Settlement: The Evidence from the Tees Valley, England', in *Ruralia I*, ed. by J. Fridrich (Prague: Institute of Archaeology), 102–14

Dyer, C. 2002. *Making a Living in the Middle Ages: The People of Britain 850–1520* (New Haven: Yale University Press)

Everson, P., and D. Stocker. 1999. *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, vol. V: *Lincolnshire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

Everson, P., and others. 1991. *Change and Continuity: Rural Settlement in North-West Lincolnshire* (London: HMSO)

Fellows-Jensen, G. 2000. 'Vikings in the British Isles: The Place-Name Evidence', *Acta Archaeologia*, 71: 135–46

Fernie, E. C. 2000. *The Architecture of Norman England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

Finn, R. W. 1972. *The Making and Limitations of the Yorkshire Domesday*, Borthwick Paper, 41 (York: St Anthony's Press)

Gaimster, D., and R. Gilchrist (eds). 2003. *The Archaeology of Reformation, 1480–1580* (Leeds: Maney)

Gaimster, D., and P. Stamper (eds). 1997. *The Age of Transition: The Archaeology of English Culture, 1400–1600* (Oxford: Oxbow)

Gem, R. 1986. 'ABC: How Should We Periodize Anglo-Saxon Architecture?', in *The Anglo-Saxon Church: Papers on History, Architecture and Archaeology in Honour of Dr H. M. Taylor*, ed. by L. A. S. Butler and R. Morris, CBA Research Report, 60 (York: Council for British Archaeology), 146–55

———. 1988. 'The English Parish Church in the 11th and Early 12th Centuries: A Great Rebuilding', in *Minsters and Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition, 950–1200*, ed. by J. Blair (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology), 21–30

———. 1996. 'Church Buildings: Cultural Location and Meaning', in *Church Archaeology: Research Directions for the Future*, ed. by J. Blair and C. Pyrah, CBA Research Report, 104 (York: Council for British Archaeology), 1–6

Giles, K. 2000. *An Archaeology of Social Identity: Guildhalls in York, 1350–1630*, BAR British Series, 315 (Oxford: Hedges)

Graves, C. P. 1989. 'Social Space in the English Medieval Parish Church', *Economy and Society*, 18: 297–322

Hadley, D. M. 2000. 'Burial Practices in the Northern Danelaw *c.* 650–1100', *Northern History*, 36.2: 199–216

———. 2001. *The Northern Danelaw, 800–1100* (London: Leicester University Press)

———. 2006. *The Vikings in England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press)

Hadley, D. M., and J. D. Richards (eds). 2000. *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries* (Turnhout: Brepols)

Higham, N. J. 1986. *The Northern Counties to AD 1000* (London: Longman)

———. 1993. *The Kingdom of Northumbria, AD 350–1100* (Stroud: Sutton)

Hollister, C. W. 1997. 'Anglo-Norman Political Culture and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance', in *Anglo-Norman Political Culture and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, ed. by C. W. Hollister (Woodbridge: Boydell), 1–16

Holt, J. C. 1997. *Colonial England, 1066–1215* (London: Hambledon)

Hunter Blair, P. 1948. *The Origins of Northumbria* (Gateshead: Northumberland)

Kapelle, W. 1979. *The Norman Conquest of the North: The Region and its Transformation, 1000–1135* (London: Croom Helm)

Lang, J. T. 1991. *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, vol. III: *York and Eastern Yorkshire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

———. 2001. *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, vol. VI: *Northern Yorkshire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

Le Patourel, J. 1976. *The Norman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press)

Loyn, H. R. 1971. *The Norman Conquest* (London: Hutchinson)

Mason, E. 1976. 'The Role of the English Parishioner, 1100–1500', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 27: 17–29

Maxwell, I. S. 1962. 'Yorkshire: The North Riding', in *Domesday Geography of Northern England*, ed. by H. C. Darby and I. S. Maxwell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 85–163

Mays, S., and others. 2007. *Wharram: A Study of Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds*, vol. XI: *The Churchyard* (York: Department of Archaeology, University of York)

McClain, A. N. 2005. 'Patronage, Power, and Identity: The Social Use of Local Churches and Funerary Monuments in Tenth- to Twelfth-Century North Yorkshire', 2 vols (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of York)

McCord, N., and R. Thompson. 1998. *The Northern Counties from AD 1000* (London: Longman)

Miller, E., and J. Hatcher. 1978. *Medieval England: Rural Society and Economic Change, 1086–1348* (London: Longman)

Morris, R. 1988. 'Churches in York and its Hinterland: Building Patterns and Stone Sources in the 11th–12th Centuries', in *Minsters and Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition, 950–1200*, ed. by J. Blair (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology), 191–99

———. 1989. *Churches in the Landscape* (London: Dent)

Newman, C. A. 1988. *The Anglo-Norman Nobility in the Reign of Henry I: The Second Generation* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press)

Page, W. (ed.). 1914. *Victoria History of the North Riding of Yorkshire*, vol. I (London: Constable)

——— (ed.). 1925. *Victoria History of the North Riding of Yorkshire*, vol. II (London: Constable)

Palliser, D. M. 1993. 'Domesday Book and the Harrying of the North', *Northern History*, 29: 1–23

Pevsner, N. 1983, *The Buildings of England: County Durham*, 2nd edn, rev. by E. Williamson (Harmondsworth: Penguin)

———. 1992. *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, 2nd edn (Harmondsworth: Penguin)

Plant, R. 2002, 'Ecclesiastical Architecture, c.1050 to c.1200', in *A Companion to the Anglo-Norman World*, ed. by C. Harper-Bill and E. van Houts (Woodbridge: Boydell), 215–53

Reilly, L. 1997. 'The Emergence of Anglo-Norman Architecture: Durham Cathedral', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 19: 335–51

Richards, J. D. 2000a. *Viking Age England* (Stroud: Tempus)

———. 2000b. 'The Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Scandinavian Evidence', in *Wharram: A Study of Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds*, vol. VIII: *The South Manor Area*, ed. by P. A. Stamper and R. A. Croft (York: Department of Archaeology, University of York), 195–200

Roberts, M. 2003. *Durham: 1000 Years of History* (Stroud: Tempus)

Ryder, P. F. 1985. *The Medieval Cross Slab Grave Cover in County Durham* (Durham: Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland)

———. 1991. *Cross Slab Grave Stones in West Yorkshire* (Wakefield: West Yorkshire Archaeology Service)

———. 1992. 'Medieval Architecture and Sculpture', in N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Northumberland* (Harmondsworth: Penguin), 48–57

———. 2000. 'Medieval Cross Slab Grave Covers in Northumberland, 1: South West Northumberland', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 5th series, 28: 51–110

———. 2002. 'Medieval Cross Slab Grave Covers in Northumberland, 2: Newcastle and South East Northumberland', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 5th series, 30: 75–137

———. 2003. 'Medieval Cross Slab Grave Covers in Northumberland, 3: North Northumberland', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 5th series, 32: 91–136

———. 2005. *The Medieval Cross Slab Grave Covers in Cumbria* (Carlisle: Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society)

Sidebottom, P. 2000. 'Viking Age Stone Monuments and Social Identity in Derbyshire', in *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. by D. M. Hadley and J. D. Richards (Turnhout: Brepols), 213–35

Stocker, D. 2000. 'Monuments and Merchants: Irregularities in the Distribution of Stone Sculpture in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire in the Tenth Century', in *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. by D. M. Hadley and J. D. Richards (Turnhout: Brepols), 179–212

Stocker, D., and P. Everson. 2006. *Summoning St Michael: Early Romanesque Towers in Lincolnshire* (Oxford: Oxbow)

Taylor, H. M. 1978. *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, vol. III (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Taylor, H. M., and J. Taylor. 1965. *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, vols I–II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Thomas, G. 2000. 'Anglo-Scandinavian Metalwork from the Danelaw: Exploring Social and Cultural Interaction', in *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. by D. M. Hadley and J. D. Richards (Turnhout: Brepols), 237–55

Wall, J. 1997. 'Anglo-Saxon Sundials in Ryedale', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 69: 93–118

Wightman, W. E. 1975. 'The Significance of "Waste" in the Yorkshire Domesday', *Northern History*, 10: 55–71

Williams, A. 1992. 'A Bell-house and a Burh-geat: Lordly Residences in England before the Norman Conquest', *Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood*, 4: 221–40

———. 2001. 'Thegnly Piety and Ecclesiastical Patronage in the Late Old English Kingdom', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 24: 1–24

Wood, I. N. 2008. 'Monasteries and the Geography of Power in the Age of Bede', *Northern History*, 45: 11–25
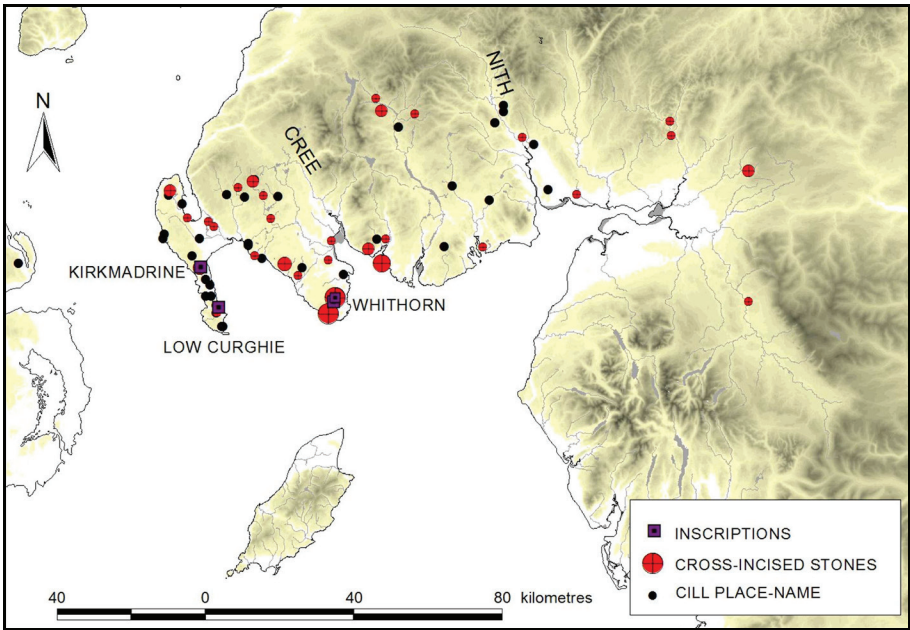
Plate Ia. Inscriptions, cross-incised stones and cill names.
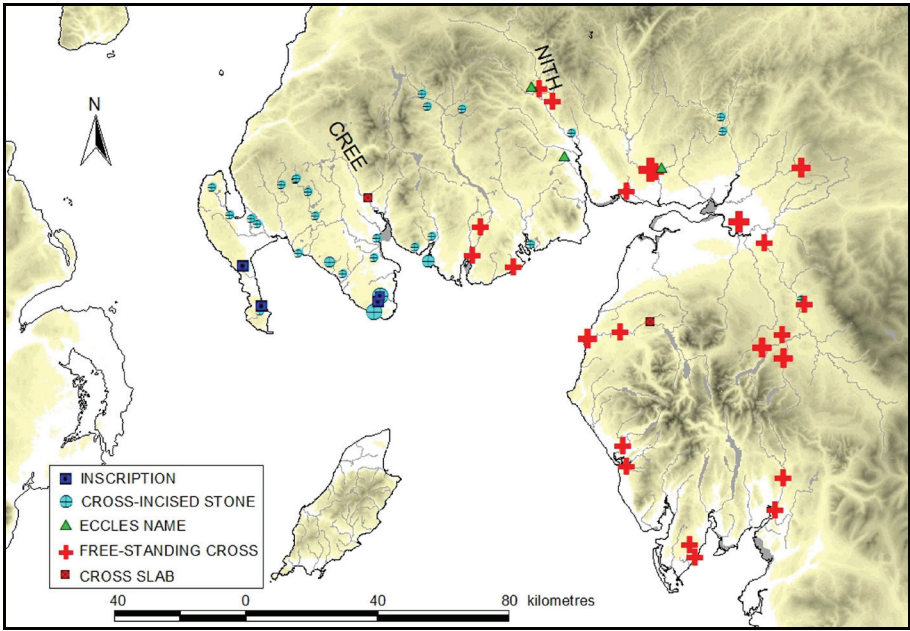
Plate Ib. Zones of monumental interaction.
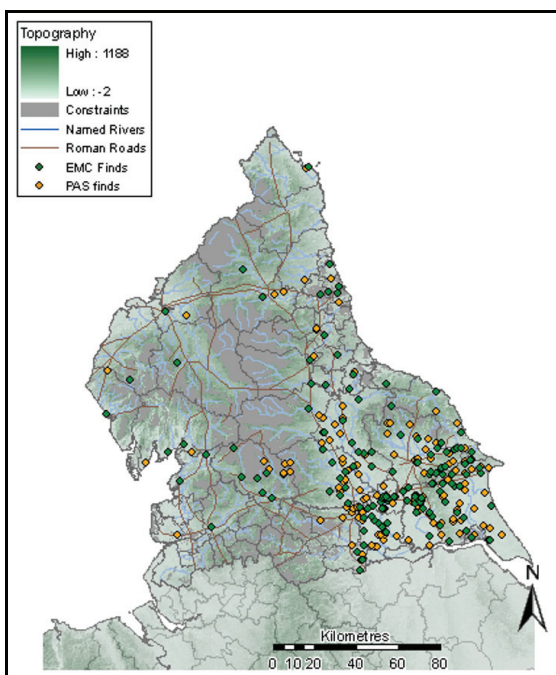
Plate IIa (left). Map of PAS and EMC data in Northumbria.

Plate IIb (below). Cemetery plan for the Bowl Hole cemetery, Bamburgh, at the end of the 2005 season of excavation. Stone linings to graves are shown in grey, unexcavated graves are shown with dashed lines, overlying burials are shown to the sides. Scale is 2 metres. © B.R.P.
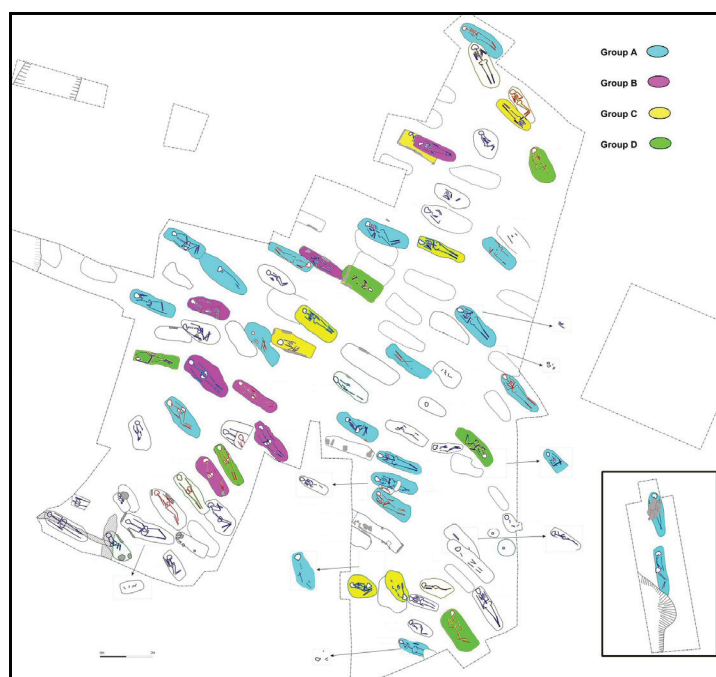
Plate III. The Lindisfarne Gospels, Matthew carpet-page (London, British Library, Cotton MS Nero D IV, fol. 26ᵛ). A Northumbrian manuscript made on Holy Island, *c.* 710–20.

Plate IV. The Lichfield Gospels, Luke carpet-page (Lichfield Cathedral, MS 1, p. 220).
A Northumbrian manuscript made in Mercia, mid-eighth century?

Part 2

Identities and Material Culture

Intellectual Communities in Early Northumbria

Martin Carver

Introduction

Let us assume that, in general, the things we would like to know about the past include a grand narrative of events, the social and economic processes at work, what the people alive at the time believed was happening to them, and their opinions on the matter. Each of these things will hold greater or lesser interest for us, depending on where we stand within theory's varied landscape. For Northumbria we have a rather good grand narrative supplied by the Venerable Bede, amplified by Peter Hunter Blair (1984) and Nick Higham (1993; 1995), as well as a splendid evocation of its Golden Age (Hawkes and Mills 1999). By and large it is a story of immigration, nation-building, and conversion, embodied by Bede in the title of his book *A History of the English Church and People*. Writing in the early eighth century he promoted the English as a people who had come from somewhere other than Northumbria only a few hundred years earlier, were ruled by kings, and were ideologically susceptible, accepting Christianity after intellectual analysis and quickly manifesting a deep conviction. Although it is fashionable to suspect him of ulterior motives, Bede and his acolytes clearly believed that these things happened — his work would hardly be copied in 157 folios (in the case of London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius C II) in Latin with a freezing hand just to annoy and mislead later historians.

But archaeologists do like to cast doubt on all of this — particularly the immigration, the kingship, and the conversion — because it is reflected in the material record, if at all, only through a glass darkly. Immigration fails to map neatly onto cultural zones (Hills 2003), kingship may be seen not as a permanent feature of Britain, but an innovation of the late sixth century (Carver 1989), and conversion,

so clarion for documented kings, is ambiguous in the material culture of every social level (Carver 2003). In compensation, we may find rewards in this same material culture by believing that it does not have to reflect a group mood bequeathed by history, but is rather the manifestation of local or personal opinions that did not necessarily prevail. In this way Bede's narrative can sit quite comfortably beside parallel lines of inquiry into intellectual attitudes and groupings that, as far as received history is concerned, were 'subterranean' in every sense.

My contribution is aimed at trying to map and understand some of these subterranean opinions. I start from the premise that the material culture of early Northumbria, as we have it, is extremely varied, even within its own declared parameters, and I have set out to suggest some reasons for this. In doing so I have drawn shamelessly on other people's work, especially colleagues at York, and especially my own research students. Many of these new studies are focused on monuments and territories and try to draw from them a chronicle of changing identity. Giving names to such manifested identities is not proving easy — and the old adjectives, Christian, Deiran, Anglian, British, Celtic, do not seem to work well. Is it the archaeological mapping or our vocabulary that lacks precision?

For convenience I here distinguish between three kinds of territory: *administrative territories*, *ancestral territories*, and *intellectual territories*. Administrative territories, which include kingdoms, estates, dioceses, and parishes, are influenced, if not determined, by the landownership of the nobility (Wood 1995: 3–5; Cramp 2005: 348). Reynolds (2003) shows how settlement boundaries have an increasing significance from the later sixth century and acquire their legal status in the context of the development of kingdoms. But material culture distributions suggest that such territories may also have roots in ancestral land, as for example the diocese of East Anglia (Carver 1989) or Deira and the land of St Cuthbert (Müller-Wille 2002: abb.3), each of which has a possible origin in the Iron Age or earlier (Carver 2011; and see below). Leigh Symonds (2003) found older boundaries within Lincolnshire (between Lindsey and 'Stamfordshire'), and this is surely the tip of the iceberg. Northumbrian boundaries no doubt reflect areas of contemporary economic, religious, and political power, but may draw also on an allegiance to these ancestral territories.

But it is another kind of subterranean allegiance that I want to rediscover here — that of the intellectual community, read primarily from monuments. In this inquiry 'monument' refers to anything that required investment and seems to have been expressive, in this case furnished burial, sculpture, buildings, and manuscripts, as opposed to fences, midden heaps, and objects less self-consciously constructed. I try to distinguish and select from material culture just those structures, features,

and artefacts that were intended to communicate, to have agency. I propose to review the principal monuments, note their variability, and then ask which aspects of the variation also vary with geography. I hope to convince you that it is legitimate to regard the monumental map as a patchwork — revealing not so much administrative or ethnic territories, as intellectual territories, areas where people thought alike. I also want to convince you that this intellectual patchwork was the result of differences of opinion, albeit made by people who had the same access to a broad range of mental knowledge.

The monument makers of early Northumbria fished in many ponds. The identity of the people, and thus their opinions expressed in monuments, are multiconceptual and multilayered, making references to a number of sources — local, national, European, intellectual, religious, and imaginary. Such actors might be seen as wayward, and their art and burial practices are certainly drawn from a wide repertoire both contemporary and archaic. But I would prefer to regard the resulting compositions not as eclectic muddle, but as original and expressive, the product of free thinking. If this is acceptable, then the agenda can move on to ask what underlies the form of monuments and particularly what causes those forms to change. Do we lay the cause of monumental variation at the door of ancestry, geography, migration, ethnicity, ideology? Or are none, or all, of these responsible? The model is rather incomplete — a moth-eaten patchwork and a woolly interpretation — but if there is something in it, then my hope is that it will offer a programme worth pursuing over the next decade or so.

Burial

Our new way of looking at burials owes a great deal to Sam Lucy, and it is Northumbria's good fortune that she began her researches in East Riding. 'Detailed comparisons of different aspects of the burial ritual has revealed that users of no two cemeteries buried their dead in the same way', she says (2000: 15), and goes on to suggest that these 'huge variations in practice' can be interpreted as being claims of identity, rather than differences in ethnicity. In the sixth century, these claims of identity make references to the broader Anglian culture. But in the seventh century, flexed burial and the focus on prehistoric monuments are introduced: 40 per cent of known cemeteries are focused on Bronze Age round barrows, linear prehistoric earthworks, or Iron Age earthworks of some kind. This allows her to pour cold water on the notion that these are burials of native Britons, superseded

by immigrant Angles, since they are the later arrivals: for these burials to signify ethnic origins, the Britons would have to be there first.

However, since all ethnicity is a claim of identity, this is rather too subtle a distinction for most of us. It is just as possible to claim you are a Briton in the seventh century as in the fifth, or indeed in the twentieth. As an alternative to the identity discourse, Lucy compares the seventh- century flexed burials with the seventh-century furnished graves collected by Helen Geake (1997) and decides that they represent a class distinction. The furnished graves 'can perhaps be identified […] as those aspiring to the elite, an identity closely bound up with the formation of kinship and the practice of Christianity. The practice of crouched burial, on the other hand […] can be seen as expressing a more localised identity — an identity which was more pertinent to the non-elite members of society'. So, the former are aristocrats, the latter are the locals (Lucy 2000: 15). Helen Geake (1997) saw her 'conversion period' burials as indicating a unifying strategy, in this case the strategy of furnishing graves with objects that made references to west Britain, Rome, or Byzantium. Those burying in this way were constructing a national narrative parallel to that of Bede. However, the practice is not uniformly distributed, even inside Northumbria. If a preference for furnished Romanized burial is being observed, it is especially by the people of Humberside, and particularly for women.

This is one signal among many faint ones that high-ranking women might be pursuing a different agenda to high-ranking men. The majority of the insular finds that have surfaced in Norway (apart from coins) were derived from shrines, book covers, and other sacred objects and were worked or recycled as accoutrements in female graves (Müller-Wille 2002). These may be seen as acts of purloined monumentality, where the realms of feminine spiritual leadership are being reclaimed (Carver 2003: 9–10; Gräslund 2003). We could surmise that similar signals may lie behind the burials on the Wolds among women 'resentful of the Christian project' (Carver 2001: 12).

This impression of conflicting signals is enhanced when you consider the people who are not being buried on the Wolds, or in furnished graves, but in the new seventh- to eighth-century monasteries of the converted. Depending on how all-embracing the term 'identity' is meant to be, we could broaden it, or add to it, to include a slightly different concept, that of promotion: the promotion of ideas, in this case ideas not in the signalling of folk allegiance but in the political context of the day.

My take on this is that the main imperative for burial rite is not identity, but ideology and its active arm, politics. The differences obviously reflect the views of those paying for the burial — I think most early medievalists have always realized
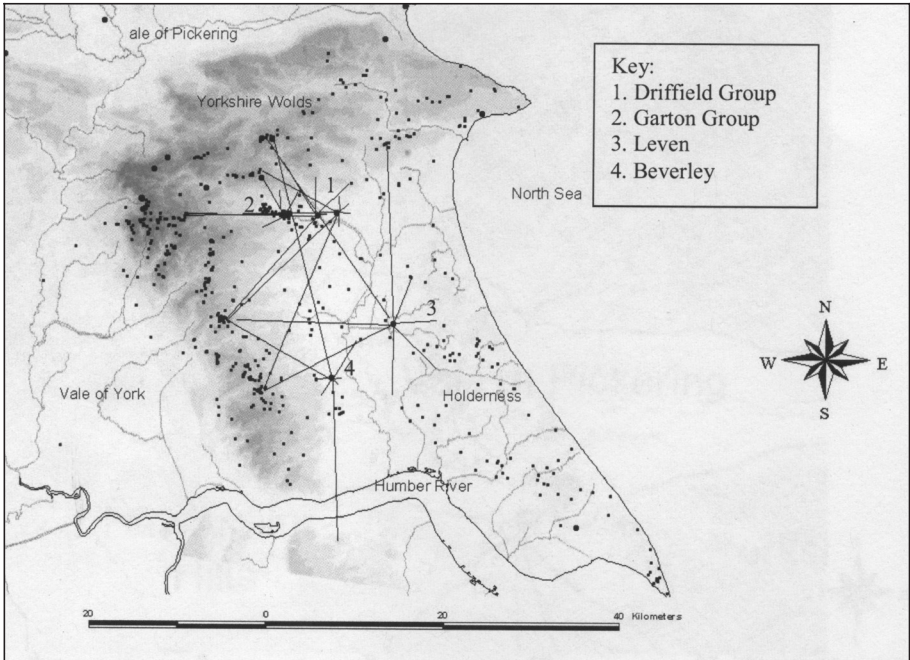
Figure 12. Vistas for monumental mounds in the Driffield area.
Source: Fig 6.15 from Dobson 2008.

that — but the burial parties do not necessarily have identity uppermost in their minds. More important are ideology and alignment, and these, just as Sam Lucy has emphasized, vary with the times. However, the variation in both time and space becomes still more revealing when we compare, not just burial and burial, but monumental burials and the other monumental investments that could have been made instead.

In his doctoral thesis Lemont Dobson (2008) has noted that the use of prehistoric mounds as secondary monuments is not only a speciality of East Riding, but that it varies *within* East Riding. If the secondary burials are plotted with respect to all the Bronze Age and Iron Age earthworks known it becomes clear that the practice is a preference of the Wolds, and the south and west Wolds in particular (Figure 12). By contrast, Dobson has demonstrated that while the Vale of Pickering has few reused prehistoric earthworks, it is home to virtually all the early stone sculpture (Figure 13).
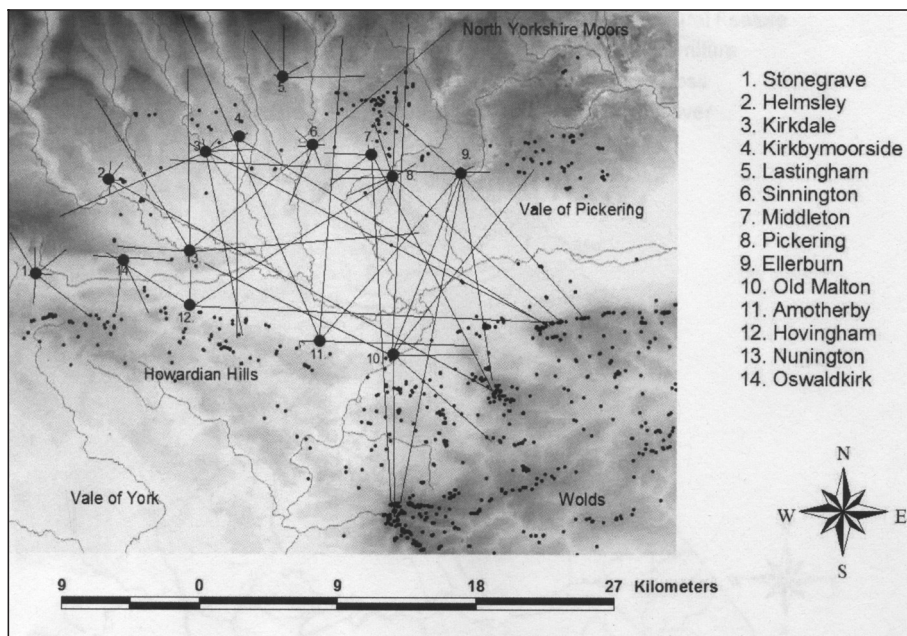
Figure 13. Vistas for sculpture in the Vale of Pickering.
Source: Fig 7.11 from Dobson 2008.

Sculpture

Like the burial mounds which to some extent they supersede, the carved stone markers belong to a number of intersecting systems. The fabric relates primarily to places where suitable stone is available, but not directly. For example, the quarries at Aislaby supplied not only nearby Whitby, but also contemporary sites at Hackness and Lastingham, although these had their own local sources and later used them (Senior in Lang 1991: 14–15). Since choice was being exercised, laboriously, Dobson suggests that this was a deliberate ideological strategy.

Confining ourselves to the earlier period (seventh to eighth centuries), we can see that the early grave markers divide into schools, and that these are confined to specific monasteries or small groups of monasteries. Using Rosemary Cramp's typologies, and using the riches of the *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, and particularly the work of the late Jim Lang, we can offer rough plots of preferred cross heads. At Lindisfarne we have mostly types F1 and G1, at Jarrow A2, and at Hartlepool a nice melange of A3, E8, G1, and F1 (Cramp 1984: 2). Further south, we see other groups at Whitby (Lang 2001: 40) and at York (Lang 1991: 18). In

his last volume, Jim Lang supported Collingwood's Ripon group (2001: 43), allowed himself a Uredale master who produced idiosyncratic work at Cundall and Masham (but remained independent of nearby Ripon), and a more widespread *chevron* group with examples at Northallerton, Ripon, Jarrow, Hexham, Carlisle, and Heysham; he saw this as evidence of 'lively cultural contacts' between Northumbrian monasteries in the eighth century (2001: 41).

The *Corpus* is so appealing that it is tempting to pre-empt work that has yet to be done. But we could agree the bare bones of a credible model: that the principal monastic foundations adopted their own motifs, and that these motifs then began to mingle in a more promiscuous way as the network extended in the eighth century. That is perhaps to say only that the earliest monasteries were founded with some independence of mind.

We can also agree what has long been apparent — that the distribution of sculpture from the ninth century, the Anglo-Scandinavian period, was a marked departure from what had gone before, and represented as Rosemary Cramp put it a 'secularization of land-holdings' (1980: 18) or in my more dramatic phrase 'a 9th-century dissolution of the monasteries', in which the intellectual construct of the church had been redesigned by the Vikings (Carver 2001: 17).

Manuscripts

It is evident that the founders at Lindisfarne and Jarrow and York chose differently when they carved — and that they were in a position to choose. We can also draw attention to other variants at an even higher monumental level, namely that of the illuminated manuscript. This is a medium in which we might expect orthodoxy, since these codices are intended to serve a religion of the book. But it is also, by the standards of furnished burial and carved stone, a medium requiring very high investment in resources, and thus susceptible to local secular forces. Rupert Bruce-Mitford (1967) showed that 550 cattle would be needed to make the Codex Amiatinus, and Ceolfrid made three of these great *pandects*, amounting to the sacrifice of a very considerable herd. That is not to mention the lapis lazuli, the yellow orpiment, and the precious stones and dyes that had to be ground up and gummed to the vellum, and the hours and hours of time needed to write out the text. All these are components of monumental investment every bit as costly and reverential as that of a Sutton Hoo burial. It is interesting, however, that in all its pages the Codex Amiatinus contains only one element of insular ornament, on fol. 902$^\mathrm{v}$. Otherwise the illustrations go out of their way to proclaim an alignment with

Rome, a Rome more Roman than Rome itself. The famous scribal portrait is a reference to Cassiodorus, Ceolfrid's role model who rescued the Christian canon at his monastery in Vivarium (the commentaries are in the cupboard behind him, as infrared reading has shown), and painting the *talith* on his head makes yet another level of reference, to Ezra, saviour of the texts of the Old Testament (Bruce-Mitford 1967). It is obvious that such layered thinking could also have been applied to sculpture and metal objects, just as it could to the composed furnished graves of a previous generation (Carver 2000).

The Codex Amiatinus was created at Jarrow around AD 700. At the same time, on the offshore island of Lindisfarne, another work was being assembled by Ead-frith, bound by Ædiluald, and placed in a cover metalled and jewelled by Billfrith the Anchorite, 'as he well knew how to do'. The Lindisfarne Gospels is a riot of insular ornament and makes copious references to the art of the metal smith in Britain. It includes portraits of evangelists, which have been compared to the Ezra portrait in Codex Amiatinus. But they are originals, with peeping mentors and titles in Greek, just as sophisticated and just as well informed about Christian thinking in the Mediterranean. In no sense can either the Lindisfarne Gospels or the Codex Amiatinus be written off as products of a fortuitous encounter between a civilized exemplar and cold, wet, and confused northern scribes. Why then are they so different from each other?

Michelle Brown (2000: 20) acknowledges strong links at a technical level be-tween the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Wearmouth/Jarrow scriptorium, but notes that the fact that Lindisfarne drew on the same intellectual resources and palette as Wearmouth and Jarrow (2000: 15–20) does not explain the difference between them. On the contrary she notes overwhelming art-historical evidence for the grounding of Lindisfarne in the Columban and Celtic tradition and an 'insur-mountable dissimilarity' with known Wearmouth/Jarrow products (2003: 55). The special fusion that is Lindisfarne was put at the service of a recognizable agenda, making multiple international references (2003: 407), and it does this in its own way. However, the conclusion Brown draws from her own powerful argu-ment is surprising: 'The three communities — Lindisfarne, Jarrow and Monkwear-mouth — may thus be seen as working together to establish a new identity for Northumbria, and thereby for England' (2000: 25; 2003: 408). While granting the genesis of the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Codex Amiatinus in a common source of intellectual imports, the different responses of the two books have, to my mind, an irresistible air of intellectual confrontation. This may lie in a different approach to the Christian programme as exemplified by the Synod of Whitby, or it may have simpler but deeper roots in the ancestral territories of Deira and Bernicia.

Insofar as we can see them, the intellectual argument also surfaces in differences in monastic plan. Rosemary Cramp's recently published study on Monkwearmouth and Jarrow will open a new chapter for all of us (Cramp 2005). She finds in the plans of the buildings around their churches a pre-echo of the monastic cloister and perhaps this is a precocious signal of what was to become established, although not until 150 years later, as the monastic model of the Roman and Frankish church. But no such framework is visible in the north or west, even at Portmahomack, the largest insular monastic area to be opened to date (Carver 2004; 2008a; 2008b). There the workshops were making vellum, objects of precious metal, and ornamental sculpture second to none in Europe. But the form is that of a small church standing in its cemetery, with workshops and farm spread out and built in traditional timber architecture, enclosed by a curvilinear ditch. Notwithstanding the extreme difficulty of comparing like with like in early monastic plans, we can at present see few grounds for believing that all monasteries were the same or offered the same fealty to the 'Roman manner'. As Rosemary Cramp allows: 'Certainly in the seventh and eighth centuries the diversity of Rules of life is reflected in the diversity of the plans' (2005: 362).

The general conclusion is evident: they *chose* what to do on Lindisfarne, just as they had in Jarrow, and that choice was informed by a generous range of exemplars and ideas — or at least we are not entitled to assume that it was not. We are left with the deduction, just as we were with the burials and the sculpture, that these early Northumbrians knew what they were doing, and that there must have been a reason for it. That reason, I would argue, is coming ever more nearly in reach.

Churches

As a last contribution to a new agenda, I make a sally into the ten to eleventh centuries to offer a highly preliminary account of the distribution of the belfry openings of Saxo-Norman churches. The typology is owed to the third volume of Harold Taylor's *Anglo-Saxon Architecture* (1983), and I have simply seriated his examples to see which features were preferred in which localities (Table 3). It illustrates what those who travel about looking at early medieval churches have long known, that there is an idiosyncratic character in the architecture as you go from region to region. The variation is not simply the availability of building materials — although that is a powerful influence too. But the shape of the openings and the way they are fashioned is not entirely predetermined by materials. Heywood (1988) links the round towers with north Germany, and Everson and

Table 3. Five regional groups of belfry windows. (Source: Taylor 1983).

	RL	RV	St	M/TS	I/J	SW	C	F	G	Rb
NORTHUMBERLAND and DURHAM										
Billingham	X			X	X	X				
Bywell	X			X	X	X				
Wearmouth	X			X	X	X				
Ovingham	X			X	X	X				
Bolam	X		X							
Jarrow		X		X	X					
NORTH YORKSHIRE										
Appleton	X			X	X					
Hovingham	X			X	X					
Kirk Hammerton	X			X	X					
Wharram	X			X	X	X				
York		X	X		X					
SOUTH and WEST YORKSHIRE										
Hornby	X		X				X			
Market Fryston	X		X				X			
Bardsey		X	X		X					
Ledsham			X				X			X
LINCOLNSHIRE										
Lincoln (St Mary)		X		X	X					
Lincoln (St Peter)		X		X	X					
Barton	X			X	X					
Branston	X		X		X		X			
Clee	X		X		X		X			
Hale	X		X		X		X			
Harmston	X		X		X		X			
Heapham	X		X		X		X			
Marton	X		X		X		X			
Scartho	X		X		X		X			
Waithe	X		X		X		X			
Winterton	X		X		X		X			
Rothwell	X			X	X		X			
Alkborough		X	X		X		X			
Bracebridge		X	X		X		X			
Corringham		X	X		X		X			
Glentworth		X	X		X		X			
Harton									X	X
Harpswell								X		X

	RL	RV	St	M/TS	I/J	SW	C	F	G	Rb
NORFOLK										
Beechamwell		X								X
Dunham		X			X		X			X
Foncett		X					X			X
Roughton									X	X
Aslacton					X				X	X
Newton							X		X	X
Bessingham						X			X	X
Weybourne						X			X	X
Haddiscoe			X		X	X	X		X	
Norwich				X	X		X		X	X

Key: RL monolithic round head; RV round head with vousoirs; St stone; M/TS megalith/through stone; I/J imposts; SW mouldings; C capitals; F flat head; G gabled head; Rb rubble

Stocker (2006) would put them a hundred years later than the usual tenth to eleventh centuries. We would then be looking for a later context in which this affiliation is signalled; but those doing the signalling still belong to a particular Northumbrian territory of the mind. The preferences illustrated are not entirely defined by the old kingdoms of the heptarchy, although they refer to similar regions that are no longer supposed to be operating in the Anglo-Norman period. Similar regional references, not exactly coincident with the heptarchy, but remembering it, can be found in late Saxon pottery types too (Carver 2011).

Discussion: What Underlies the Territories?

What is important here is that, so far as current precision allows, we are dealing with ideational variations encountered within the same region at the same period. For example, around AD 700 in Northumbria, they were making the Codex Amiatinus in Jarrow and the Lindisfarne Gospels on Lindisfarne, and in Whitby, York, and Jarrow the grave-markers have their own livery, with Latin or runic inscriptions. At broadly the same time on the Wolds, some people are being buried in the sides of Bronze Age barrows, others in Iron Age earthworks, and others with the imitation paraphernalia of contemporary Byzantine aristocrats. How many references are here being made? Is it confusion or complexity? A babble or a dialogue? Needless to say, I am on the side of dialogue, and I am not the only one.

One of the first to take a snapshot of such fossilized discussions was the late Ian Smith, who mapped the relative investment in what is now south-east Scotland. He showed that there were areas of Lothian, Fife, and Angus where cist burial,

square ditched barrows, and symbol stones were preferred. He concluded that this was not an accident of survival, but related to the contrasting political alignment of neighbours (Smith 1996). Similarly in her thesis on the northern Irish Sea zone, Nicky Toop (2005) chronicled the monumental vocabulary on either side of a piece of water that could assuredly be crossed and noted markedly different responses to Christian ideas. The peoples of early medieval Ulster, Cumbria, Galloway, and Man must have known each others' practices and politics, so that what was taking place was a real dialogue, even if we cannot yet catch its every nuance.

In East Riding, Lemont Dobson has attacked the problem by focusing on a smaller region (2008). After mapping all the monuments, he selected three areas where they were reasonably thick on the ground and asked how the monumental trajectories of each area changed through the sixth to eighth centuries. He made the assumption that the local appreciation of monumentality could only be measured by line of sight, *vista*, since the people at the time could see from hill to hill but had no maps. He found that not only the character of the monuments and their distribution changed with time, but also their direction of sight, the 'vista-systems'. Around Driffield, from the sixth century until the early eighth, the community looked south and remained focused on their reclaimed prehistoric monuments. In the Vale of Pickering, from the seventh century, there developed a strongly linked sculpture network. This implies that at the human scale of *as far as the eye can see*, different micro-regions were treading their own road into the eighth century.

There is probably a fair measure of agreement that zones of intellectual allegiance must have existed and operated at a series of nested scales for any one seventh-century Yorkshire family. How far can we hope to investigate what they were? If it were possible, it would be good, since these are separate voices waiting to be heard and can help us out of the arid cycle of monolithic explanations — migration, ethnicity, kingship, and conversion — with which we have been for so long afflicted. The monumental repertoire that was used by Northumbrians can first be contrasted with the much larger repertoire that was available to them (Table 4). This is a crude chart, not least because it implies that in this matter Northumbrians thought as one, while, as already suggested, Northumbria was itself a patchwork of opinion. But it shows what was chosen, and what was not but could have been. The explanation of what kind of sources might have attracted the attention, and developed the discourse, of our monument builders should lie in the major divergent factors of each local territory: the inherited prehistoric and Roman landscape, the degree of political interference, and the differential reception of Christianity.

Table 4. Making monuments in Northumbria.

What they chose	What they didn't choose
Late Iron Age ornament (adapted for MSS)	Bracteate, guldgubbe style (not adapted for MSS)
Secondary mound burial	Ship/horse burial
Monasteries (Lindisfarne, Jarrow)	Ritual centres (Gudme, Upparka)
Roman/Byzantine grave goods	Roman baths
English names (Angles, Northumbria)	Iron Age or Roman names (Parisi, Romani, Britons)
Roman script and Runes	Ogham

As Sam Lucy has shown for East Riding (2000), Sam Turner for Cornwall (2006), and Sarah Semple for Wessex (2002), the prehistoric landscape is the quintessential inheritance for the monument builder (Carver 2008a). We have hardly begun to do more than speculate here, if only because early medieval archaeologists have all too often studied their landscapes by ignoring prehistory, or even ignoring Scandinavia where the greater part of the potential exemplars has survived.

As well as being able to recognize earlier prehistoric landscapes, from burial mounds for example, early Northumbrians were well aware of ancestral folk territories, even if the folk no longer existed. The Romans had recognized groups of Iron Age people — Parisi, Brigantes, and Votadini — and to some extent acknowledged them in the Roman map (Cunliffe 2005: 74–126, 590–99). After the empire failed, the old pattern re-emerged to give us Elmet, Deira, Bernicia, Gododdin. Was this kind of deep loyalty reflected in the monumental preferences? We can acknowledge that not only were the people of early Medieval Northumbria aware, in a learned sense, of Rome's agenda for the Province, both pagan and Christian, but they inherited a physical Roman landscape too. Since this Roman landscape differed in its survival all over Britain, it would be logical if attitudes to Roman monuments differed too, and this in turn would affect the monumentality that succeeded it.

If, however, a new people or a major political interference arrived from across the sea, would not this too have had an influence on the monuments that were made? Are the preferences observed simply a reflection of being Angles or being Britons, the solution everybody now loves to hate? It is not, of itself, so improbable, and for anthropologists and prehistorians remains a valid kind of explanatory option. In her 2001 article, Zoe Crossland has shown that in the Madagascar of the historic period, immigration and invasion did change the landscape. Tombs offer a 'network of beliefs and practices', with the higher-ranking families buried on

higher ground, so that those of lesser rank on the edge of settlement on the plains look up to the tombs on the hills. After the Merina conquest of 1808, all but one of the villages were abandoned (with their tombs) and a new settlement pattern was imposed. The Merina also reoccupied and legitimated some of the ancestral tomb sites on the high hills, so conquering the vistas too. This kind of analogy must lead out of the comfort zone — that in Britain nothing ever really changes — into a harsher territory where land is grabbed and peoples dispossessed as assuredly as happened and went on happening in medieval and later Europe.

On the question of immigration in early medieval Britain, preliminary work on stable isotope measurements from Anglian West Heslerton shows that population movement occurred, and this was true of Neolithic Wessex too (Budd and others 2004). So people certainly moved, and the modern questions are how many, where from, where to, when, and what for? The worst thing would be to close the inquiry before it starts by deciding that population movement is not significant. One can certainly agree that identity is a construct, but someone with a constructed identity is just as likely — perhaps more likely — to prosecute an agenda of discrimination or genocide. Such proclaimed differences can happen on a small scale and endure. We can note that just as the Wolds and the Vale of Pickering have different monumental histories, so they are said to have belonged to different tribes before and after there was any question of Angles in the area. We have certainly not demonstrated that there were no immigrants into Humberside from Denmark or from Norway (Hines 1984). If there were, then such arrivals are significant, although they do not affect the validity of Sam Lucy's thesis in one particular: that the burial rite is not solely dependent on the place of birth. The stable isotope inquiry needs to be greatly enhanced — to address the intriguing questions implicit in the article by Budd and others (2004), but not addressed by them: Who were these people who came from the west of Britain to die at West Heslerton? What is the implication for marriage, labour, the military, slavery? If people travelled throughout the seventh to eighth centuries, not only to Rome to deliver books, but from Frisia to deliver *sceattas*, then ideas came with them. For those in a position of power, some of these ideas will have rubbed off on the monuments. At this point it would be wise to refer, however briefly, to the sea and travel upon it, since whether or not there was immigration in the traditional sense of a large single movement of people, the intellectual diversity depends on there being contact, frequent and targeted.

Like Barry Cunliffe for prehistory (2001) I have argued (1990) that in the early medieval period the North Sea was a thoroughfare, not a barrier, and that on the whole long journeys and heavy loads were quicker by boat than by cart. But the use

of the North Sea was not always the same. Bjarne Gaut (2001) toiled for two long years to find any material contact between Britain and Scandinavia between the mid-seventh and the later eighth century. There was more or less none, and yet no good reason why there should not be. He endorsed the view that in the sixth to seventh centuries there was frequent contact between eastern Britain (including Kent) and western Scandinavia. Minor links began again between eastern Britain and southern Scandinavia in the early eighth century, but there is no insular metal-work in pre-Viking strata in Scandinavia. This is in spite of the Scandinavianisms adopted by aristocratic England in the early seventh century as demonstrated by John Hines (1984). Why is this? Since the sea is the same, and presumably boats and mariners, we must ascribe the changes to the irrational forces we know: politics and ideology.

Commentators on early medieval Europe have increasingly accepted that long-distance maritime contact was feasible and frequent, even if each journey had its own rationale (Newton 1926; Carver 1990; Morris 2007). Prima facie, the east coast would be the arterial routeway for Northumbria, and Jarrow Slake is seen as one of the largest and safest harbours in the north of England (Morris 2007: 8; Wood 2006: 72), but Roman and other land routes were also significant con-nectors (Cramp 2005: 348). A few years ago I was lucky enough to have, as a graduate student, a retired doctor from Sunderland, John Makepeace, whose hobby was deep sea sailing. He worked on the question of how easy is it to get from one end of Northumbria to the other by sea, and where sailors might land. He made use of his knowledge as a yachtsman, as well as of early maps and the sites and monu-ments records. He began by assuring me that there was no reliable safe entry to land under sail between the Humber and the Forth, but went on to show that it was possible at certain points. Overall, his thesis reinforced the notion that the original harbours of Northumbria were where the monasteries were founded: Tynemouth, Jarrow, Wearmouth, Whitby, and Hartlepool (Makepeace 1995). At Jarrow in 1693 the monastery stood by the Slake which was covered twice a day by the tide and provided turning for shallow draft vessels, as well as a place for seasoning tim-bers. Today this fine tidal harbour has been covered up completely and finally by a massive park for newly manufactured cars. Perhaps the biggest surprise was the front door to Bernicia, which for the modern yachtsman at least is neither Bam-burgh nor Lindisfarne, but Budle Bay which lies between them. A little way up the Budle River is the start of the ancient roadway that leads to Yeavering. John Make-peace also computed the sailing times, harbour to harbour, totalling the coastal journey from the Humber to the Forth at about three days (Table 5). We can allow ourselves to conclude that with a day's sailing time between them, there is no need

to conceive Jarrow and Lindisfarne as significantly separated by geography. The viability of our intellectual territories would depend on the depth of mutual allegiance, an intellectual factor, and the ease of communication, a physical one; both were necessary but neither was sufficient to account for the way intellectual territories formed.

Table 5. Sailing times on the Northumbrian coast (after Makepeace 1995, assuming steady wind on the starboard quarter (easterly) and a speed of 5 knots).

Journey	Time
Humber to Scarborough	9.5 hours
Scarborough to Whitby	2.5 hours
Whitby to Wearmouth	7 hours
Wearmouth to Budle Bay	10 hours
Budle Bay to St Abbs	4 hours
St Abbs to the Forth	3 hours
Humber to the Forth	36 hours

Conclusions: Reading the Variants

We can draw two important conclusions from these thoughts about monument builders and the seas that connected them: first that they expressed themselves differently because they thought differently, and second that they expressed themselves differently because this was one of the rare periods in Europe's history in which they were permitted to do so. The aspect of thinking that I believe is exposed here is ideology and its active arm, politics. I am not talking, or not necessarily, about religion, since religion in the sense of orthodox practice disallows choice: religion is an ideology that has stopped thinking. Religion in the sense of an orthodox rule is only possible when there is sufficient power to exercise coercion and enforce conformity. We see no real evidence of such overarching power in northwest Europe between the fifth century and the eighth; therefore the Christian religion, as an institution or even a uniform practice, probably did not exist at this time. For this reason I believe that it is inappropriate to assume that Christianity and Paganism were then well-defined intellectual positions, opposed to one another. These two categories, Christianity and Paganism, are too crude to use as archaeological terms and would not signify real divisions at the time (Carver 1998; 2001; 2008a; 2011).

The higher the investment, the richer the complexity that is reflected. My late colleague Richard Fletcher, who regarded the Mound 1 Sutton Hoo ship burial as confused, signifying at best 'the hesitant process of Christian conversion' (1997: 125), was prepared, by contrast, to allow more intelligence to the Franks Casket. Regarding this Northumbrian creation, he first protested at its disrespectful treatment by earlier commentators: 'An "arbitrary jumble" was the verdict of one distinguished art-historian; a "meaningless sequence indicative of intellectual confusion" was another's.' But he went on: 'One cannot help feeling that these reactions were a little dismissive.' Bravo! Fletcher analysed the front panel as a Pagan-Christian confrontation, but warned that these exercises can 'quickly become undisciplined' (1997: 270). That may be true (depending on the discipline), but the essential ground is won: it is not the Northumbrians who were confused, it is us. That is largely because we are always trying to force them into a box labelled 'Christian' or 'Pagan', just as we once wanted them to file into the British or Foreign queue at the frontier. If we free them from these anachronistic terms, we may hear what they have to say.

In her analysis of the Franks Casket, Leslie Webster (1999) sees 'three pairs of scenes in which a Christian topos offers a commentary on a pagan Germanic one'. The front panel already mentioned depicts Weland who took revenge on Nithad, who had imprisoned and lamed him, by killing his sons and raping his daughter — resulting in the birth of the hero Widia. Weland escaped in a flying machine powered by birds (Figure 14). This not-very-moral tale is juxtaposed with the three magi visiting the manger at Bethlehem, scene of the birth of Jesus. For Webster the panels as a whole offer examples of good and bad rule and thus provide a 'mirror for princes'. She suggested that texts and art were designed to guide or to moderate power, and 'whoever it was intended for was expected to have the mental agility and learned disposition required to unlock the lesson contained in this three-dimensional riddle' (1999: 246). Deciding that the casket must have been made in a monastery and was intended as a reliquary, she clearly thinks that the Christian message has the upper hand in the arguments displayed, and would have been regarded as the more moral. Jim Lang (1999) also expected the maker of the Franks Casket to have had access to a monastic library, but read the message of the casket as more compromising. He recognized its programme as supplied by Psalm 68, a psalm with themes of vengeance on enemies and rewards for loyalty; so here more a celebration of power than a sermon on its perils.

It seems to me that this discussion about the Franks Casket epitomizes the anachronistic way we apply the word 'Christian' in the early Middle Ages. It is true that the scriptures have not changed, but people have and so has the social role of

Figure 14. Front panel of the Frank's Casket. (© Trustees of the British Museum)

the Christian God. But I do not argue only that our perspective is different from Bede's or Bede's from Constantine's; but that Bede's was different from Wilfrid's, Wilfrid's from Ceolfrid's, Ceolfrid's from Edwin's, and Edwin's, no doubt severally and plurally, from that of Coenburg and Ethelburga, the mothers of his children. For some, like the makers of the Codex Amiatinus, Christianity, or a version of Christianity, was the driving force, but even this ideology had no indivisible persona. If you are not convinced by the significance of the Synod of Whitby, then there are the differences in policy between Benedict Biscop and Wilfred (the Lenin and the Trotsky of their day) and the differences observed between the manuscripts and sculpture produced at either end of Northumbria to account for. The character of each of the communities we have identified, whether territorial, class-based, or divided by gender, is rooted in differences about how life should be lived and which past or present regime provided the best model, seasoned with a healthy lack of dogmatism about the afterlife. This, in my opinion, is what lies behind the variations in contemporary monumentality we have encountered.

Acknowledgements

References

Brown, M. 2000. *'In the Beginning was the Word': Books and Faith in the Age of Bede*, Jarrow
    Lecture (Jarrow: St Paul's Church)

———. 2003. *The Lindisfarne Gospels: Society, Spirituality and the Scribe* (London: British
    Library)

Bruce-Mitford, R. L. S. 1967. *The Art of the Codex Amiatinus*, Jarrow Lecture (Jarrow: St Paul's
    Church)

Budd, P. A., and others. 2004. 'Investigating Population Movement by Stable Isotope Analysis: A
    Report from Britain', *Antiquity*, 78: 127–41

Carver, M. O. H. 1989. 'Kingship and Material Culture in Early Anglo-Saxon East Anglia', in *The
    Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, ed. by S. Bassett (Leicester: Leicester University Press),
    141–58

———. 1990. 'Pre-Viking Traffic in the North Sea', in *Maritime Celts, Frisians and Saxons*, ed. by
    S. McGrail, CBA Research Report, 71 (York: Council for British Archaeology), 117–25

———. 1998. 'Conversion and Politics on the Eastern Seaboard of Britain: Some Archaeological
    Indicators', in *Conversion and Christianity in the North Sea World*, ed. by B. E. Crawford, St
    John's House Papers, 8 (St Andrews: Committee for Dark Age Studies, University of St
    Andrews), 11–40

———. 2000. 'Burial as Poetry: The Context of Treasure in Anglo-Saxon Graves', in *Treasure in
    the Medieval West*, ed. by E. Tyler (Woodbridge: Boydell), 25–48

———. 2001. 'Why That? Why There? Why Then? The Politics of Early Medieval
    Monumentality', in *Image and Power in the Archaeology of Early Medieval Britain: Essays in
    Honour of Rosemary Cramp*, ed. by H. Hamerow and A. MacGregor (Oxford: Oxbow), 1–22

———. 2003. 'Introduction: Northern Europeans Negotiate their Future', in *The Cross Goes
    North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, AD 300–1300*, ed. by M. O. H. Carver
    (Woodbridge: Boydell), 3–14

———. 2004. 'An Iona of the East: The Early-Medieval Monastery at Portmahomack, Tarbat
    Ness', *Medieval Archaeology*, 48: 1–30

———. 2008a. *The Pictish Monastery at Portmahomack*, Jarrow Lecture (Jarrow: St Paul's
    Church)

———. 2008b. *Portmahomack: Monastery of the Picts* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press)

———. 2011. 'What Were They Thinking? Intellectual Territories in Anglo-Saxon England', in
    The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology, ed. by H. Hamerow, D. A. Hinton, and
    S. Crawford (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 914–47

Cramp, R. J. 1980. 'The Viking Image', in *The Vikings*, ed. by R. Farrell (London: Phillimore), 8–19

———. 1984. *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, vol. I: *County Durham and Northumberland*
    (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

———. 2005. *Wearmouth and Jarrow Monastic Sites*, vol. I (Swindon: English Heritage)

Crossland, Z. 2001. 'Time and the Ancestors: Landscape Survey in the Andrantsay Region of
    Madagascar', *Antiquity*, 75: 825–36

Cunliffe, B. 2001. *Facing the Ocean: The Atlantic and its Peoples* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

———. 2005. *Iron Age Communities in Britain*, 4th edn (London: Routledge)

Dobson, L. 2008. 'Landscape, Monuments and the Construction of Social Power in Early
    Medieval Deira' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of York)

Everson, P., and D. Stocker. 2006. *Summoning St Michael: Early Romanesque Towers in Lincolnshire* (Oxford: Oxbow)

Fletcher, R. 1997. *The Conversion of Europe: From Paganism to Christianity 371–1386 AD* (London: Harper Collins)

Gaut, B. 2001. 'Britain and Western Scandinavia in the Vendel Period c570–c800: The Evidence of Artefacts' (unpublished master's dissertation, University of York)

Geake, H. 1997. *The Use of Grave-Goods in Conversion-Period England c.600–c.850*, BAR British Series, 261(Oxford: British Archaeological Reports)

Gräslund, A.-S. 2003. 'The Role of Scandinavian Women in Christianisation: The Neglected Evidence', in *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, AD 300–1300*, ed. by M. O. H. Carver (Woodbridge: Boydell), 483–96

Hawkes, J., and S. Mills (eds). 1999. *Northumbria's Golden Age* (Stroud: Sutton)

Heywood, S. 1988. 'The Round Towers of East Anglia', in *Minster and Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition, 950–1200*, ed. by J. Blair (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology), 179–90

Higham, N. J. 1993. *The Kingdom of Northumbria, AD 350–1100* (Stroud: Sutton)

———. 1995. *An English Empire: Bede and the Early Anglo-Saxon Kings* (Manchester: Manchester University Press)

Hills, C. 2003. *Origins of the English* (London: Duckworth)

Hines, J. 1984. *The Scandinavian Character of Anglian England in the Pre-Viking Period*, BAR British Series, 124 (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports)

Hunter Blair, P. 1984. *Anglo-Saxon Northumbria* (London: Variorum)

Lang, J. 1991. *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, vol. III: *York and Eastern Yorkshire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

———. 1999. 'The Imagery of the Franks Casket: Another Approach', in *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. by J. Hawkes and S. Mills (Stroud: Sutton), 247–55

———. 2001. *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, vol. VI: *North Yorkshire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

Lucy, S. 2000. 'Early Medieval Burials in East Yorkshire: Reconsidering the Evidence', in *Early Deira: Archaeological Studies of the East Riding in the Fourth to Ninth Centuries AD*, ed. by H. Geake and J. Kenny (Oxford: Oxbow)

Makepeace, J. 1995. 'Early Medieval Harbours in Northumbria' (unpublished master's dissertation, Centre for Medieval Studies, University of York)

Morris, R. 2007. *Journeys from Jarrow*, Jarrow Lecture (Jarrow: St Paul's Church)

Müller-Wille, M. 2002. 'Das northumbrische Kloster Lindisfarne im Jahre 793: Die Überfälle von Wikingern auf Klöster der Britischen Inseln und ihre Folgen in der historischen und archäologischen Überlieferung', *Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica*, 34: 225–24

Newton, A. P. 1926. *Travel and Travellers of the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul)

Reynolds, A. 2003. 'Boundaries and Settlements in Later Sixth to Eleventh Century England', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 12: 98–136

Semple, S. 2002. 'Anglo-Saxon Attitudes to the Past: A Landscape Perspective' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Oxford)

Smith, I. 1996. 'The Origins and Development of Christianity in North Britain and Southern Pictland', in *Church Archaeology: Research Directions for the Future*, ed. by J. Blair and C. Pyrah, CBA Research Report, 104 (York: Council for British Archaeology), 19–36

Symonds, L. A. 2003. 'Territories of Transition: The Construction of Boundaries in Anglo-Scandinavian Lincolnshire', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 12: 28–37

Taylor, H. M. 1983. *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, vol. III (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Taylor, H. M., and J. Taylor, 1965. *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, vols I and II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Toop, N. 2005. 'Dialogues of Power: Early Christian Monumentality around the Northern Irish Sea AD 400–1000' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of York)

Turner, S. 2006. *Making a Christian Landscape: The Countryside in Early Medieval Cornwall, Devon and Wessex* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press)

Webster, L. 1999. 'The Iconographic Programme of the Franks Casket', in *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. by J. Hawkes and S. Mills (Stroud: Sutton), 227–46

Wood, I. 1995. *The Most Holy Abbot, Ceolfrid*, Jarrow Lecture (Jarrow: St Paul's Church)

———. 2006. 'Bede's Jarrow', in *A Place to Believe In: Locating Medieval Landscapes*, ed. by C. A. Lees and G. Overing (University Park: Pennsylvania University Press), 67–84

Yeavering and Bernician Kingship: A Review of Debate on the Hybrid Culture Thesis

Colm O'Brien

Introduction

Yeavering has come to be seen as the definitive archaeological expression of the architecture of early medieval kingship in England in much the same way that Sutton Hoo expresses its burial rites. 'Royal palace' is the term now usually offered as the English translation of the Latin *villa regia* in the paragraph of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* (II, 14) in which *Adgefrin* appears (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 188–89). But Yeavering (the name in modern English has preserved its Brittonic origin) is a multifaceted and multiperiod site, and the term 'palace' cannot be offered as an explanation or interpretation of the archaeology, as if it were simply an earlier version of Sandringham or Buckingham Palace. Rather, the archaeological remains, viewed within their landscape setting, can be read for insights into the nature and practice of kingship within Bernicia.

Understanding of Yeavering derives primarily from Brian Hope-Taylor's 1977 study in which he presented the findings of his excavations of 1953–62. It is perhaps difficult now to appreciate just how radical for their time were the ideas which he developed. Although the buildings have attracted the most attention in secondary literature since he published, he saw the significance of the site in a much wider perspective, and 'palace' was not a term which he used. *Yeavering: An Anglo-British Centre of Early Northumbria*, his 1977 title, expresses his underlying idea of Yeavering as a place of culture contact, a place at which there developed, as he put it, 'a harmonious relationship between the native population and a minute, governing Anglo-Saxon elite, itself susceptible and responsive to formative influences from its British environment' (1977: 282). From this meeting of two groups, a 'vigorous hybrid culture' emerged (1977: 267). The stratigraphic sequences of

intercutting foundation trenches persuaded him that, notwithstanding Yeavering's appearance in the *Ecclesiastical History* as the location of religious conversion in AD 627, these features could not be compressed into the seventh century and that a longer time span was implied. This led him to develop a thesis on the origins of the Bernician state and its kingship which ran counter to the then-prevailing view, as expressed by Sir Frank Stenton (1971: 74–76), that not until the reign of Æthelfrith at the beginning of the seventh century did the Bernician kings break out from confinement on the rocky coastal stronghold of Bamburgh to dominance across a wider hinterland.

As Ian Wood has acknowledged (2005), Hope-Taylor did transform our understandings and his main premises have been integrated into scholarship. Yet David Rollason (2003) has revisited the question of Northumbrian origins and sees Yeavering in a different way. Using a technique of formal, almost courtroom, argument, Rollason presented and weighed up the evidence for and against three models of interpretation: (1) direct transition from a Roman or sub-Roman kingdom; (2) transition from native British kingdoms; and (3) conquest by incoming English. Model 1, he judged, could not apply north of Hadrian's Wall (2003: 80); model 2 suffers from a paucity of evidence relating to the British kingdoms on which it depends (2003: 89), while evidence for survival of agricultural estates and their organization from sub-Roman or native states, as suggested, for example, by Glanville Jones (1979), is 'equivocal, or at least not of a type which compels its acceptance' (Rollason 2003: 93). Overall, he concluded that nothing in the evidence 'absolutely requires us to discard model 3' (2003: 99), that is, the traditional Germanic migration model. He acknowledged Hope-Taylor's reading of Yeavering as evidence towards model 2 but judged here that 'the arguments have some plausibility, but are weakened by lack of evidence for the British kingdoms which are supposed to have lain behind Bernicia and Deira' (2003: 85). So absence of evidence leads Rollason to a sort of agnosticism and acceptance by default of a standard view. But we may question whether absence of evidence needs be taken as evidence of absence and whether assessment of Yeavering should be predicated on the evident existence or non-existence of a kingdom named in the historical record. For Hope-Taylor the archaeological features were themselves eloquent testimony, and he developed his understandings directly from these (1977: 267–324). It is timely to review the evidence and argument around the features.

I aim in this chapter to summarize the archaeological remains from Yeavering, as revealed mostly by Hope-Taylor's excavations, and the arguments which underpin his understanding of this as a place of hybrid culture. Then I will review commentary made since 1977 which has a bearing on the hybrid culture idea and

from this propose a reading which acknowledges syncretism and the awareness of a deep past embedded here as being fundamental to the exercise of kingship at Yeavering.

Location and Features

Yeavering is at the north edge of the Cheviot Hills in Northumberland. From the twin-peaked hill of Yeavering Bell (361 metres above sea level) the land falls away sharply to a glacio-fluvial terrace through which the small River Glen has cut a narrow valley with a floor at fifty metres above sea level. Circumscribing the two peaks of the Bell is the stone-built rampart enclosing 5.6 hectares within which 125 circular house-platforms have been identified and, on the east peak, a small palisaded enclosure of 0.18 hectares. The chronology of these features is not securely established, but the main rampart is generally understood as a late prehistoric hillfort and tribal centre of the Votadini, perhaps with earlier antecedents, and with occupation during the pre-Roman and Roman Iron Age (Oswald and Pearson 2005). At the foot of the hill, the terrace surface has a slightly domed profile — it is sometimes referred to as 'the whaleback' — seventy-two metres above sea level at its highest elevation. This is the setting where J. K. S. St Joseph in 1949 first recorded cropmarks of the earth-cut features which became the subject of Hope-Taylor's excavations (Knowles and St Joseph 1952: 270–71).

The main elements of the site, as revealed by the cropmarks and Hope-Taylor's excavations, are the following:

1. A palisaded enclosure, the Great Enclosure, on the terrace edge at the east end of the complex. The wide double-palisade whose line is visible on the air photographs was the final form of a feature which had been through several stages of development which were represented by other, smaller palisade lines and lines of post-pits.

2. Foundation trenches and post-pits of rectangular timber buildings west of the Great Enclosure (Area A). Four buildings in the set (A2, A4, A3a, A3b) had floor areas of up to about three hundred square metres. Intercutting of foundation trenches enabled the excavator to elucidate a sequence of constructions. Hope-Taylor called these Great Halls. Three of them (A4, A3a, A3b) are paired with a smaller building (A1a, b, c) at the opposite end of a fenced compound. Towards the west end of the site (Area D) and the north (Area C) were the foundations of other rectangular buildings with similarities in form and

construction technique to the Area A buildings but with smaller floor areas than the Great Halls. These are termed Lesser Halls.

3. Nine curving and concentric foundation trenches, with associated post-pits, west of the set of halls, whose outline forms a wedge shape. Hope-Taylor interpreted these as the settings for timber supports of a tiered auditorium with a capacity to seat some three hundred people.

4. Inhumation burials at the east and west ends of the site. At the west end (Area D), the burial sequence appears to begin with inhumations placed within a pre-existing prehistoric ring-ditch feature, the Western Ring Ditch. From this nucleus a more extensive cemetery developed around and in association with Area D buildings. At the east end the sequence began with a marker-post and burial positioned within the Eastern Ring Ditch, another prehistoric feature. These align to another marker-post and threshold burial associated with Building A4. The cemetery with linear arrangements, the String Graves, is judged to be a battle cemetery. In the final stages of occupation, after the final dismantling of the Great Enclosure, a densely packed cemetery is associated with a building which the excavator interpreted as a Christian church.

There were few datable objects from the excavation and no radiocarbon dates. Hope-Taylor developed a model of phasing for the site (1977: fig. 72) by combining the stratigraphic evidence of intersecting features with an assessment of a stylistic evolution of building types. At two stages within this sequence there was a fire episode, and Hope-Taylor used these to provide chronological datum points by suggesting that the first was caused by an attack at the end of King Edwin's reign in AD 633 and the second by an attack during King Oswiu's reign in AD 651 or 655. A Romano-British field system provided a terminus post quem for the whole sequence.

The Hybrid Culture Model

Hope-Taylor developed his idea of Yeavering as a place of contact between an indigenous British culture and an Anglian elite from three propositions concerning the archaeological features. These involve building styles, the Great Enclosure, and burial and cult practice.

From a combination of stratigraphic analysis and typological assessment, Hope-Taylor proposed an evolution of building styles on the site in five style phases (1977: 150–51, 209–41). Style I, the earliest, has small rectangular structures with load-bearing posts set at intervals along the wall lines and with panels of wattle and daub in between the posts for weather screening. Style II saw the emergence of

what he called the 'Yeavering style' which reached its apogee in the Great Halls of Style IIIC (Styles I and III are subdivided). This form-type has a three-aisled, double-squared plan, divided by opposed long-wall doors. The key structural feature is that the walls are fully load-bearing, with solid, squared oak timbers set side-by-side to form continuous load-bearing walls. Style IV, a variant line of development, still uses the solid, load-bearing walls, but with lighter construction and diversification of plan form. Style V, a devolution from Style IV, reverts to the principle of Style I whereby the walls are screens covering a structural framework. This is a sign of Yeavering's decline. Style I was judged to belong to the native building traditions with characteristics influenced, directly or indirectly, by Roman timber-building practice, and with construction techniques being comparable to the earlier palisade phases of the Great Enclosure. Style II sees the emergence of a new tradition which drew on both continental Germanic traditions and native construction techniques. For Hope-Taylor this is a hybrid tradition which he explained by genetic metaphor when he suggested that it 'probably came of a northern British mother and a "Saxo-Frisian" father and retained some of the physical characteristics of both parents. It seems, moreover, that it was born into the new aristocracy of a world that still set some store by the memories and monuments of the Roman past' (1977: 236–37).

The significance of the Great Enclosure for the idea of a hybrid culture derives from its phasing. Hope-Taylor shows this (1977: fig. 72) emerging at the very beginning of the stratigraphic sequence, when the Romano-British field system went out of use (a dating formula of AD 375 ± ?125 is offered) and being present through perhaps six stages of development until it was finally dismantled after the first fire episode. The technique of palisaded construction is placed within a native north British tradition (and the cross-connection with native building construction technique is already noted) evidenced by comparison with Hownam Rings and Hayhope Knowe in Roxburghshire and Harehope Hill in Peeblesshire. This led Hope-Taylor to conclude that 'there had been during the early centuries AD a general continuity of native tradition in the region' (1977: 205–09). As to its function, 'it would be absurd to see the Great Enclosure as a permanent military work; yet its defensive aspect is obvious'. Its purposes were communal and public, perhaps seasonal musterings of local herds or for periodic markets and festivals, with Yeavering working as 'something roughly equivalent to the Scandinavian *Thing*'. It is possible this feature 'is the true key to understanding the regard anciently shown for this obscure place in the northern Cheviot foothills' (Hope-Taylor 1977: 280).

Yeavering shows a complex and long-lasting record of burial and cult practice. The two prehistoric features, the Western and Eastern Ring Ditches, which were apparently still evident on the site in the post-Roman period, were marked with free-standing posts (totem poles, perhaps) at their centres and within the Western Ring Ditch (originally a setting for a stone circle with a central monolith) a rectangular wooden building or enclosure was erected and inhumations were placed within this, oriented radially. These developments 'can hardly have begun much, if at all, later than about AD500' (Hope-Taylor 1977: 244). After the middle of the sixth century, the Western Cemetery developed, extending away from the Western Ring Ditch and focusing around a small rectangular structure (not unlike that within the Western Ring Ditch) annexed to the south end of Building D2. A threshold burial for this annexe of a child, tightly trussed up and with an ox tooth placed in the grave, may be associated with cult practice which is implied also by a deposit of ox skull bones in Building D2 (Hope-Taylor 1977: 95–118). On the eastern side of the site, a burial had been laid radially from the central standing post, and this alignment was then extended by a second standing post and a threshold burial for Building A4, in which a goat skull was positioned at the feet. The central axis of A4 continued this line. Following the first fire episode, in which A4 and other buildings were destroyed, the String Graves were dug and then, finally, the densely packed Eastern Cemetery (Hope-Taylor 1977: 70–85). A transition from pagan to Christian practice is identified in the burial rites and in the way in which Building D2a was encased in D2b. But the hybrid culture argument depends more on the idea that a native tradition has continued into an Anglian phase than on a pagan–Christian transition, and so this point is not further examined here. To find a cultural context for the Yeavering burials, Hope-Taylor looked to the long-cist graves which occur around the Firth of Forth and, after considering the Anglo-Saxon burial tradition, he found no compelling reason to see in Yeavering 'anything other than the indices of securely established native custom' (1977: 264–65). At the site-specific level, he defined as an issue of fundamental importance 'the possibly startling suggestion of an immensely long continuity in local "ritual" observance — of a thread running unbroken (if at times weakened) from the Bronze to the Anglo-Saxon Age' (1977: 249).

In summary, Hope-Taylor argues for traditions of palisade construction and burial at Yeavering which emerge from native regional traditions and which continue to influence practice throughout the period of occupation of the site; he argues for an evolution of building styles from a native tradition (linked to that of palisades) through to a locally developed hybrid style which draws on both Germanic and Romano-British influences; and he argues for a continuity at the site from the prehistoric past of communal assembly and of burial practice.

Critiques of the Hybrid Culture Model

The origins and affinities of Anglo-Saxon timber buildings came under review not long after Hope-Taylor published when Philip Dixon (1982) posed the question 'how Saxon is the Saxon house?' and found little to support the idea that English buildings had developed from continental traditions. The structural type with strong walls and no internal supports and the plan-form with length–breadth proportions of around 2:1, both typical in England, were uncommon on the continent. Simon James and colleagues reviewed the evidence from excavation and cropmarks on forty-five sites, of which Yeavering was one, spread widely across England and Scotland, and they defined the characteristics of an early medieval tradition (James and others 1984: Table 3). They challenged Dixon's characterization of both insular and continental building types and argued for a fusion of continental Germanic and Romano-British traditions. In this respect, their conclusion was not unlike Hope-Taylor's hybrid model. More recently, Helena Hamerow (2002) has returned to the question of the Anglo-Saxon house in the light of a wide-ranging review of continental Germanic archaeology. She notes that there are many more examples on the continent of byre-less houses without internal roof supports, akin to English types, than had previously been recognized. While accepting the possibility that Anglo-Saxon buildings were influenced in various ways by Romano-British traditions, such as the use of painted lime-plaster to give the wooden buildings the appearance of stone (Hope-Taylor 1977: 235–36), she concludes that they 'fit broadly within a long-lived tradition found across much of northwest Europe' (Hamerow 2002: 46–52).

The idea that the post-and-panel buildings of Style I were of British origin was questioned first by Roger Miket who felt that they 'stemmed from good Anglo-Saxon traditions' and who considered that the link with the middle phases of the Great Enclosure, on which the dating of Style Phase I depended, was 'tenuous' (1980: 303). Rosemary Cramp (1983: 274) concurred with Miket's view. Later, Christopher Scull (1991) picked up the same point and developed a fuller critique of the evidence on which Hope-Taylor had based Style Phase I. In Area A, the Great Halls of Style Phase III (Building A2 and its successors) are preceded by three post-and-panel buildings of Style Phase I, of which the latest, A5, occurs in the stratigraphic succession immediately before A2 whose construction date is given as AD 585–605. The Style I Buildings A5 and D6 are assigned to a date range of AD 450–550 on the argument of an association with the Phase II palisade of the Great Enclosure. However, there is no independent validity for this date and no compelling reason why the buildings should be contemporary with the palisade. The half-century gap

between A5 and A2 is simply a consequence of the way in which Hope-Taylor has constructed his building-style sequence, with the Style II buildings assigned a phase in their own right, Style Phase II. In fact, there is no reason why the Style II buildings, which are on Area D, cannot have been in use in the same time period as those of Style III. There is thus no good evidence why A5 and other Style I buildings, which are comparable with Anglo-Saxon buildings elsewhere in the country, need to be assigned such an early date. There is a coherent case for dating them to the middle or second half of the sixth century and to an Anglian cultural context. In this case, Style Phase I can be seen as the direct antecedent of the *villa regia*: a modest farming settlement which became transformed in the later sixth century. Tim Gates (2005: 82–83) has suggested that if a set of features recently detected as cropmarks south and west of the excavated areas could be confirmed as being *grubenhäuser*, this would lend support to Scull's interpretation.

Miket and Scull had both expressed doubts over the linking of the building sequence with that of the Great Enclosure's palisades. Elsewhere, I have reanalysed the stratigraphic evidence for the Great Enclosure and its relationships with the Area A buildings and the eastern burial features (O'Brien 2005). The only points at which there are direct stratigraphic links are in Style Phases III (Building A4) and IV (Building A3a), relatively late in the sequence. The association which Hope-Taylor proposed between building Style I and the Phase II palisade of the Great Enclosure, which is the basis for Style Phase I, is neither supported nor refuted by stratigraphic evidence. The chronology proposed for the Great Enclosure depends on the abandonment of the Romano-British field system to establish a terminus post quem for its beginnings. However, Tim Gates (2005: 71–75), in a close examination of the air photographs which are now available, shows that the linear features which Hope-Taylor interpreted as field boundaries are in fact ice-wedge casts formed in the late glacial era. My analysis also shows that the sequential development of the Great Enclosure in the definition of the style phases is neither supported nor refuted by stratification. With the evidence as it presently stands, the chronology and development of the Great Enclosure are uncertain; Hope-Taylor's chronological model is a possible but not a certain reading of the evidence.

Despite the uncertain chronology of the Great Enclosure, Hope-Taylor's positioning of this within a north British palisade tradition finds support from Leslie Alcock's studies (1988; 2003). He assembled a body of place-name and archaeological evidence to suggest that the Bernician kings had taken over a set of fortified sites, including Coldingham, Dunbar, and Bamburgh, which were places of leadership in the native precursors of the Bernician state (1988: 3–9; 2003: 233–35). Yeavering, the 'hill of the goats', whose name derives from the British *gevr-rinn*,

fits this model; and as Stephen Driscoll remarks (2005: 168), Hope-Taylor understood that Yeavering's landscape situation indicated that it was already a place of regional assembly by the seventh century.

The structures of formal organization of the landscape in prehistoric and Roman Iron Age times are difficult to elucidate. But for the early medieval era, I have suggested (2002) that we can see Yeavering working within a network of large-terrain estates within which, through a system of service tenures, the resources of the land were harvested and its surpluses made available to support kingship; and I have proposed the geography of a shire of *Gefrin* around the Rivers Till and Glen, of which the *villa regia* is the economic and governmental centre. Mark Wood has reviewed this model (2007: 460–61, 558–64) by drawing on the evidence of place-names. He finds that within the proposed shire of *Gefrin* place-name distribution contrasts with that of the surrounding area. There are few early English forms and a larger number of later ones, with a cluster of pre-English names with indicators of higher status. He advances the hypothesis that this was a Brittonic-controlled territory that later reverted to Anglian control. He finds little evidence for Anglian cultural dominance before the seventh century, a view which is consistent with Scull's who sees Hope-Taylor's Style Phase I as a modest farming settlement. But if territorial structures which developed under Brittonic speakers came through into the seventh century, this is additional evidence in support of the ideas which Alcock developed and allows the possibility that the Bernician state drew some of its organization of territory, as well as its key places, from pre-existing entities.

The burials from nearby Milfield (Scull and Harding 1990) can be readily understood within the final phase of the Anglo-Saxon tradition, yet this has never been the case with the Yeavering burials (Geake 1997: 172–73). Sam Lucy in her reassessment of the burials (2005), by far the most comprehensive review of the topic, agrees that the Yeavering burials fit more comfortably into a northern British context than they do an Anglo-Saxon one, while allowing that use of the Eastern Cemetery could have continued to the late seventh century or beyond (2005: 143). Driscoll (1998) sees Yeavering as fitting an Irish-Scottish rather than a southern English pattern in the idea of focusing a royal centre on a prehistoric monument. John Blair (1995) associated the small square structures within the Western Ring Ditch and at the end of Building D2 with a long-lasting tradition of Romano-Celtic shrines in Gaul and Britain which developed from pre-Roman prototypes. The final stage of these, in which the Yeavering examples are included, represents an assimilation into English ritual practice. Lucy, though, finds little evidence to place these in an Anglian pagan tradition rather than a sub-Roman milieu (2005: 141). That Hope-Taylor discussed cultural influences on the burial

rites rather than invoking ideas of population dominance or replacement shows that his thinking was ahead of its time and consistent with the insights into syncretism which recent work on burial archaeology is beginning to explore (Lucy 2005: 143). His idea of ritual continuity from the prehistoric past came under the scrutiny of Richard Bradley (1987) who drew on concepts from anthropology to suggest that the historical time applied to the medieval era could not be considered on the same scale as the primitive or ritual time of prehistory which dissolves the distinctions between past and present on which historical time depends. Bradley proposed that the post-Roman reuse of the prehistoric monuments was a creation of continuity, akin to Eric Hobsbawm's (1983) idea of the invention of tradition, whereby ritual performance is deployed in the construction of a past in the landscape to serve the needs of the present and to legitimize the social order.

To summarize: the shorter chronology now proposed for the building types and the uncertainties over the chronology of the Great Enclosure work against the structural hybrid model for buildings in the terms in which Hope-Taylor expressed it. But beyond this, reassessment of the burial rites, place-name evidence, comparison with other sites of kingship, and the association of kingship and prehistoric monuments all suggest affinities with northern Britain, while an understanding of ritual continuity as a deliberately created entity through practice allows for a new way of understanding an active engagement with the locality. A number of concepts emerge from critiques of Hope-Taylor's model: locality, time, invention, syncretism, performance, assembly. None of these is incompatible with his thinking; to greater or lesser degrees he had allowed for them all. But focus now on these will enable a perhaps more nuanced reading of cultural process at Yeavering than he articulated.

Place and Past

To begin, an encounter in ethnography. Charles Thomas, busy with fieldwork in the *Causses* of south-east France, was pondering a standing stone when a shepherd, Pratlong by name, came by with his flock. Thomas engaged him in conversation, asking if the stone had a name. Yes, it's the giant's stone. Suspecting a burial, he asked again, was the giant down there, under the stone. 'The shepherd', he writes (1994: 9–10), 'amused by my attempts to speak his archaic tongue was kindly enough to follow me. He slapped the menhir and replied slowly, as if to an idiot, [...] the giant is inside the stone — he's in the middle of the stone.' This conversation gives us a compelling insight into how Bradley's difficult exposition of historic and ritual time might be applied to the way in which the Western and Eastern Ring Ditches were reused. For the visiting archaeologist the standing stone in France is

a field monument from a past constructed in linear time, however many thousands of years distant from our present. For the shepherd, whose identity is bound into that locality, it is the ever-present embodiment of ancestry — if I am right in thinking of this giant as an ancestor.

So we can think of Yeavering as a liminal place where ancestry is embodied in the monuments of the landscape, and the reuse of the prehistoric features as a way in which an elite group attempted to appropriate to itself the authority of that ancestry. This, as Bradley suggested (1987: 10), is comparable with the way in which royal households composed for themselves prestigious but fictional genealogies. The threshold burial with the goat's skull by Building A4 suggests that totemic elements of the landscape were also brought into play. In its position and alignment this burial linked the domains of the funerary and the hall in a way which suggests that the buildings too were designed to express the relationship of the actions of people with this place (Ware 2005: 154). Much of the early commentary on Yeavering was framed within a discussion of British and Anglian cultural traits, but Bradley commented that his analysis applies irrespective of the ethnic background of those involved. Others (e.g. Lucy 2000: 174–86) have doubted that archaeological features can be assigned ethnic labels in this way, in the light of a wider critique of ethnicity which argues that the 'peoples' of early medieval Europe were not fixed entities defined by biological descent. As Patrick Geary expresses it, 'the names of peoples were less descriptions than claims' for unity under leaders 'who appropriated disparate traditions and invented new ones' (2002: 155–56). If we think of Bernician kingship in this way, then we break through the impasse to which Rollason's debate on origins led and we can see at Yeavering the creation of a kingship through practice.

Clive Waddington's work on the Milfield Basin (1999) introduces the idea that this area may have been conceptualized as a place through ritual practice in the Neolithic or Early Bronze Age with a set of small henge monuments and associated burials, marking a ceremonial way which leads to a henge at Yeavering (Tinniswood and Harding 1991), and with stone circles set in the surrounding hills defining the entry into this place. There is no direct evidence for the hilltop of Yeavering Bell being used at this early date, but it is hard not to think of this imposing hill which stands forward slightly from the Cheviot massif, and is therefore a more prominent feature in the landscape than its neighbours Humbleton and Akeld hills, as a focal point. By the later prehistoric period, when the Bell was ringed with a rampart and circular houses occupied the summits, it is reasonable to think of this as a place at which a tribal leadership was exercised and as a centre for assembly. Hope-Taylor wrote of Yeavering as being ritually and politically 'the stronghold of its own native past' (1977: 266), an expression which Paul Frodsham (2005: 57) picked up in considering memory at a place.

The syncretism noted already in respect of burial at Yeavering extends also to the function of assembly where it takes on reference to Roman government. Although the origins and chronology of the Great Enclosure are uncertain, Hope-Taylor made a good case for its use as a place of assemblies which could serve both economic and administrative purposes. The Auditorium (not thus far considered here) provides for elaboration and extension of this. With seating space for some 320 people (Hope-Taylor's calculation: 1977: 161), it hints at a population in Yeavering's wider territory for which there is little direct archaeological evidence. The wedge shape was seen as a realization in wood, the material of the vernacular architecture, of a segment of a theatre from the Roman world; at its apex, a dais and screens and, behind the dais, a standing post (1977: 241–44). This interpretation has been accepted with little comment, but now Paul Barnwell (2005) has offered some insight into how this was used. Theatres in the Roman world were places of provincial assembly at which the business of government could be conducted; and if a king at Yeavering was drawing on a model of Roman provincial administration, this looks comparable to the way in which the whetstone and other objects recovered from the burial chamber of Mound 1 at Sutton Hoo drew from and evoked the idea of consular government as a way of presenting the practice of kingship in East Anglia (Filmer-Sankey 1996). The post standing behind the dais draws on a feature from the Frankish world, the *staffolus* of the king, which marks the place where a king's judgement is given or men's fates become known (Barnwell 2005: 180–82).

Conclusion

Review of argument around Hope-Taylor's hybrid culture model offers insights into the practice of early medieval kingship at this place which show how it 'appropriated disparate traditions and invented new ones' (to use Geary's phrase again). In burial and cult practice it appropriated to itself the ancestry and totemic power embodied here and where burials drew also on north British forms and Roman-Celtic structures; it drew on traditions of leadership and assembly exercised at this place and on inherited territorial structures. Here the elite played out inside great timber constructions, clad to simulate Roman stone, the drama of the Hall in which a king received and gave honour, and fealty was confirmed with gold and mead; and outdoors, beneath the hill on which a tribe had been accustomed to gather, a king was presented to enact before the wider population the theatre of kingship with the dignity of a Roman governor and, set behind him in full view of all, a powerful Frankish signifier of justice and the fate of men.

References

Alcock, L. 1988. *Bede, Eddius and the Forts of the North Britons*, Jarrow Lecture (Jarrow: St Paul's Church)

———. 2003. *Kings and Warriors, Craftsmen and Priests in Northern Britain AD 550–850* (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland)

Barnwell, P. 2005. 'Anglian Yeavering: A Continental Perspective', in *Yeavering: People, Power and Place*, ed. by P. Frodsham and C. O'Brien (Stroud: Tempus), 174–84

Blair, J. 1995. 'Anglo-Saxon Pagan Shrines and their Prototypes', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 8: 1–28

Bradley, R. 1987. 'Time Regained: The Creation of Continuity', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 140: 1–17

Cramp, R. 1983. 'Anglo-Saxon Settlement', in *Settlement in North Britain 1000 BC–AD 1000*, ed. by J. C. Chapman and H. C. Mytum, BAR British Series, 118 (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports), 263–97

Colgrave, B., and R. Mynors. 1969. *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford: Clarendon Press)

Dixon, P. 1982. 'How Saxon Is the Saxon House?', in *Structural Reconstructions*, ed. by P. J. Drury, BAR British Series, 110 (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports), 275–88

Driscoll, S. 1998. 'Picts and Prehistory: Cultural Resource Management in Early Medieval Scotland', *World Archaeology*, 30: 142–58

———. 2005. '*Ad Gefrin* and Scotland', in *Yeavering: People, Power and Place*, ed. by P. Frodsham and C. O'Brien (Stroud: Tempus), 161–73

Filmer-Sankey, W. 1996. 'The "Roman Emperor" in the Sutton Hoo Ship Burial', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 149: 1–9

Frodsham, P. 2005. 'The Stonghold of its Own Native Past: Some Thoughts on the Past in the Past at Yeavering', in *Yeavering: People, Power and Place*, ed. by P. Frodsham and C. O'Brien (Stroud: Tempus), 13–64

Gates, T. 2005. 'Yeavering and Air Photography: Discovery and Interpretation', in *Yeavering: People, Power and Place*, ed. by P. Frodsham and C. O'Brien (Stroud: Tempus), 65–83

Geake, H. 1997. *The Use of Grave-Goods in Conversion Period England, c.600–c.850*, BAR British Series, 261 (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports)

Geary, P. 2002. *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press)

Hamerow, H. 2002. *Early Medieval Settlements: The Archaeology of Rural Communities in North-West Europe, 400–900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

Hobsbawm, E. 1983. 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1–14

Hope-Taylor, B. 1977. *Yeavering: An Anglo-British Centre of Early Northumbria* (London: HMSO)

James, S., and others. 1984. 'An Early Medieval Building Tradition', *Archaeological Journal*, 141: 182–215

Jones, G. 1979. 'Multiple Estates and Early Settlements', in *English Medieval Settlement*, ed. by P. H. Sawyer (London: Arnold), 9–34

Knowles, D., and J. K. S. St Joseph. 1952. *Monastic Sites from the Air* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Lucy, S. 2000. *The Anglo-Saxon Way of Death* (Stroud: Sutton)

———. 2005. 'Early Medieval Burial at Yeavering: A Retrospective', in *Yeavering: People, Power and Place*, ed. by P. Frodsham and C. O'Brien (Stroud: Tempus), 127–44

Miket, R. 1980. 'A Restatement of Evidence from Bernician Anglo-Saxon Burials', in *Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries, 1979: The Fourth Anglo-Saxon Symposium at Oxford*, ed. by P. Rahtz, T. Dickinson, and L. Watts, BAR British Series, 82 (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports), 289–305

O'Brien, C. 2002. 'The Early Medieval Shires of Yeavering, Breamish and Bamburgh', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 5th series, 30: 53–73

———. 2005. 'The Great Enclosure', in *Yeavering: People, Power and Place*, ed. by P. Frodsham and C. O'Brien (Stroud: Tempus), 145–52

Oswald, A., and S. Pearson. 2005. 'Yeavering Bell Hillfort', in *Yeavering: People, Power and Place*, ed. by P. Frodsham and C. O'Brien (Stroud: Tempus), 98–126

Rollason, D. 2003. *Northumbria 500–1100: Creation and Destruction of a Kingdom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Scull, C. 1991. 'Post-Roman Phase 1 at Yeavering: A Re-consideration', *Medieval Archaeology*, 35: 51–63

Scull, C., and A. F. Harding. 1990. 'Two Early Medieval Cemeteries at Milfield, Northumberland', *Durham Archaeological Journal*, 6: 1–29

Stenton, F. M. 1971. *Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press)

Thomas, C. 1994. *And Shall These Mute Stones Speak? Post-Roman Inscriptions in Western Britain* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press)

Tinniswood, A., and A. Harding.1991. 'Anglo-Saxon Occupation and Industrial Features in the Henge Monuments at Yeavering, Northumberland', *Durham Archaeological Journal*, 7: 93–108

Waddington, C. 1999. *A Landscape Archaeological Study of the Mesolithic-Neolithic in the Milfield Basin, Northumberland*, BAR British Series, 291 (Oxford: Archaeopress)

Ware, C. 2005. 'The Social Use of Space at *Gefrin*', in *Yeavering: People, Power and Place*, ed. by P. Frodsham and C. O'Brien (Stroud: Tempus), 153–60

Wood, I. N. 2005. 'An Historical Context for Hope-Taylor's Yeavering', in *Yeavering: People, Power and Place*, ed. by P. Frodsham and C. O'Brien (Stroud: Tempus), 185–88

Wood, M. 2007. 'Bernician Narratives: Place-names, Archaeology and History' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Newcastle University)

The Recursive Structuring of Space: Socio-political and Religious Performance in the Hall

Jenny Walker

Early Literary and Archaeological Studies of the Hall

Studies of the early medieval hall have a long history. Initially, this was as a consequence of the use of sagas and poems during the Renaissance period in order to demonstrate the longevity and glory of nations competing in both political and military arenas (Trigger 2000: 48–49). In Norway, for example, the series of saga-histories known as the *Heimskringla* became a 'potent factor in awakening Norway's desire for independence [...] by reminding Norwegians of their heroic past' (Magnusson and Pálsson 1966: 13). However, as the hall was central to many of these sagas and poems, over time it became a subject for discussions all its own. The descriptive nature of the literary sources allowed a detailed picture to be built up of what it was believed the hall would have looked like. *Beowulf*, for example, described it as a monumental timber building placed on the highest point in the settlement with a wide-hipped roof covered with gold (vv. 67, 115, 642, 702, 925, 1799; Bradley 1995: 413, 414, 428, 430, 436, 456). Inside, golden mead-benches were placed on decorated floors, and fine tapestries hung on the walls (vv. 480, 720, 767, 991; Bradley 1995: 424, 430, 432, 437–38). Such tapestries were also mentioned in *Skaldskaparmál*, the *Edda*, and the *History of Magnus Erlingson*, and the story of *Sigurd the Völsung* described how the high table, with Sigurd's high seat in the centre, was positioned opposite the southern doorway, with further tables and benches running down either side (Boult 1910: 138). However, the thematic centrality given to the hall also suggests that it had great conceptual and ideological value to early medieval society. The notion of the construction of the

hall was one of the very first concepts introduced in *Beowulf*, for example, and its erection was portrayed as crucial to the inauguration and maintenance of leadership, in the same way that sources like *Atlakriða*, *Lokasenna*, the *Ynglinga saga*, and the *History of Olav Trygvason* made it clear that the destruction of the hall was comparable to the destruction of civilization itself (Hedeager 2002: 6).

The main point to be stressed here is that all of the descriptions of the hall emphasized its grandeur and importance, in both practical and conceptual terms. During the early years of early medieval archaeology, however, there was no correspondence between these literary descriptions and the recovered archaeological remains. Only shabby pit-dwellings were found at Sutton Courtenay in Berkshire, England, for example, which prompted Leeds to describe the people as squatting 'amid a filthy litter of broken bones [...] food and shattered pottery, with logs or planks [...] for their seats' (1936: 26; see also 1947). In no way could these be seen as matching the buildings of the sagas, and they were also clearly 'inferior' to what were perceived as their Continental ancestors and contemporaries, such as the above-ground buildings at Feddersen Wierde near Bremerhaven and those at Warendorf near Münster, both in northern Germany (Addyman 1972: 273; James and others 1984: 201). Comparisons with the Continental record came about as a direct result of the belief that a large number of migrants had travelled to England from the Continent during the fifth century AD (see *Historia Ecclesiastica,* I, 15: McClure and Collins 1999: 27). This neatly correlated with the prevalent theoretical milieu, which saw culture as static unless affected by outside influence and, consequently, placed heavy emphasis on invasions, races, and ethnicity (Ware 2003: 16). As a result, 'architectural styles and settlement types, and how these relate[d] to the incursion of Germanic ethnic groups [took] precedence over the people who created and dwelt within them' (Ware 2003: 9).

Recursivity in the Hall

The origin of the hall is certainly a crucial matter of debate for, as Boas noted, 'in order to understand [...] it is necessary to [not only] know how things are but how they have come to be' (1920: 315). Part of this 'coming-into-being' must surely root in geographical and cultural influences, and, as such, any large-scale study of the hall must draw on typologies and analyses of architectural influence. The problem with such processual approaches is that they do not consider the reasons that architectural elements were adopted, discarded, retained, and adapted — reasons that can tell us much about ideology. Deterministic explanations such as climate do have logic, but they are 'hardly robust enough to explain variation'

(Grenville 2000: 15). More recent theorizing, however, has emphasized the complementary inclusion of human agency and structuration into archaeological discourses (see Giddens 1984; 1991; contributions to Dobres and Robb 2000).

The theory of structuration interprets social systems as 'both the result of, and the means by which human relations are organised and reinforced' (Brumfiel 2000: 249). Its application allows early medieval people to be understood as both viewing and using the hall armed with cultural experience, but it also recognizes that the hall both informed that *habitus* (experience-led action) and shaped the social structure within which it took place (Bourdieu 1977: 86). In other words, instead of being a simple container for human action, the hall is active in the construction and maintenance of social relations and power structures (Giles 1999: 14). Culture is seen as the primary influence over the use of space both within and without the hall, and its active production by knowledgeable human agents placed hall and society into a recursive and mutually determining relationship (Giddens 1984: 10; Fairclough 1992: 348). It is therefore argued that the physical structure and spatial organization of the hall can be used to make interpretations regarding the attitudes and motivations of early medieval people as through the deliberate selection of architectural details, the hall could be used to 'signify power, status, [...] express and support cosmological beliefs, communicate information, help establish individual or group identity, and encode value systems' (Rapoport 1980: 299).

Ideology has three principle functions: to naturalize a current social situation, to make sectional needs and desires seem of universal importance, and to mask potentially conflict-causing inequalities (Abercrombie and others 1980; Thompson 1985). In this sense, the hall can be argued to be an intellectual premise, in the same way that the literary sources are. It was concerned with what society and individuals were, but also with what they wished it and themselves to be (Carver 2001: 1). The hall could be used as a tool to mobilize and legitimate sectional interests and ambitions, and so its erection can be argued to be a political act with the intention of emphasizing certain meanings at the expense of others (Shanks and Tilley 1982: 132–33; Kirk 1997: 63). In the same way that Christian architects created the spaces they needed to ensure that Christianity endured, early medieval builders used the hall to 'spatially inscribe' the ideology they wished to construct and endure (Soja 1996: 46). The equation between site geometry and societal beliefs and organization is, of course, far from direct. Allusions and references contained both within and without buildings can be hugely subtle, and any interpretations must be given specific context. Instead of assuming, however, that the British halls were simply emulations of buildings produced by the 'new, politically ascendant élite' (James and others 1984: 206), post-processual methodologies can study the hall as

Map 17. Map of Doon Hill in Midlothian, southern Scotland and Yeavering in
Northumberland, northern England (drawn by Sven Grabow).

a building deliberately designed in order to create and maintain the desirable
society. Architectural design and the use of space within the hall both permitted
and prohibited action and, as such, played a crucial role in the construction and
maintenance of early medieval society (see Lefebvre 1997: 26–27, 73).

   The following section of this article will discuss two sites, Doon Hill in Mid-
lothian, southern Scotland and Yeavering in Northumberland, northern England
(Map 17). In doing so, it aims to show how investigating the spatial organization

of the hall and its surroundings can add valuable depth to studies of early medieval Northumbria and its ideology. It concentrates, however, on just two facets of this spatial organization, the access arrangements of the halls and the internal subdivision of space. (For a more extensive study of the spatial organization of halls in Britain and Scandinavia, see Walker forthcoming.) Doon Hill and Yeavering both appear to represent the ideology of Northumbrian kingship and are therefore suitable for comparative analysis within the same cultural context. They both also appear to demonstrate considerable shifts in ideology. In contrast to many similar sites, they were also relatively well preserved and thoroughly published.

Case Studies: Spatial Organization and Ideology at Doon Hill and Yeavering

Doon Hill

Two halls were discovered at Doon Hill, which is positioned 9km north of Yeavering and approximately 3km from the early medieval coastal site of Dunbar (Figure 15). Both halls were built on the same piece of land, near to an Iron Age hilltop enclosure, and within a trench-built palisade enclosure that had two corresponding structural phases (Hope-Taylor 1966: 175; 1980: 18). Slightly to the north, but within the same enclosure, was a 'concentration of postholes, burnt patches and deposits of cremated bone, [which] raise the possibility of a ritual origin and function for the hall' (Aliaga-Kelly 1986: 181). Hall A, the earlier of the two buildings, has been interpreted as a British product of the late fifth or early sixth century, although comparisons with the Neolithic site at Balbridie, Kincardineshire, in northern Scotland have caused some to propose a comparable date for the Doon Hill example (see Hope-Taylor 1980: 18; Ralston 1982; Fairweather and Ralston 1993; Walker forthcoming for discussions surrounding the dating of both Balbridie and Doon Hill A). The hall was built using individual postholes, except for the gable-ends, where sleeper-beam trenches were evident (Laing 1969: 112–13). These gables described an obtuse V-arrangement, partly in order to accommodate the inclined buttresses supporting the centre posts (Reynolds 1980: 53). Evidence for doorways could be seen in the mid-point of each long wall, and the hall was divided by rows of vertical posts into a large central compartment with two smaller ones at each end of the building (Reynolds 1980: 52).

Based on the positioning of the doors, it could be argued that everyone had access to the main hall-room, but that the end chambers were reserved for exclusive use. Notions of exclusivity, of course, may only be applicable to modern society, for
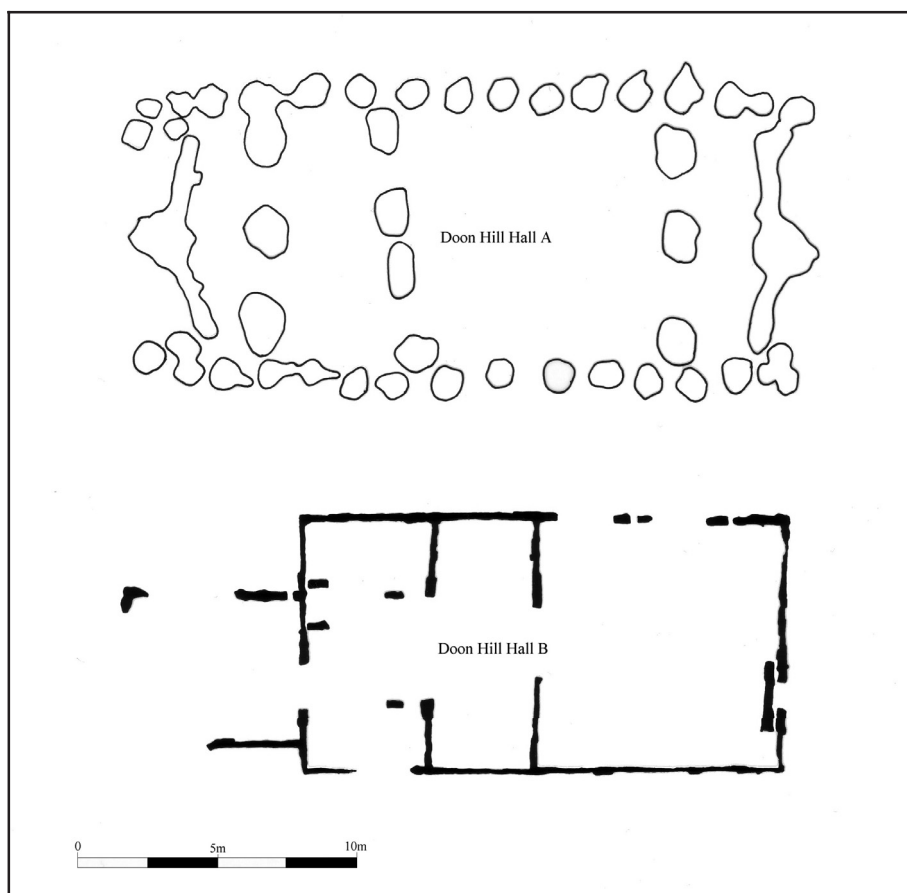
Figure 15. Doon Hill halls A and B
(drawn by Sven Grabow after Lowe 1999: 34 and Aliaga-Kelly 1986: 257).

as Ware noted, 'archaeologists expect to be able to identify equivalent categories of space and practice in the [record], when, in fact, they may never have existed' (2003: 12). As such, caution must be exercised when considering concepts of private versus public performance, and it must also be recognized that different cultures have different ways of expressing such arrangements. In the Amazon, for example, the Yagua people obtain their privacy in a non-structural way (Rapoport 1969: 66). Stone's (2003) study of excavation communities shows how 'elective blindness' can also perform this function.

Whilst Hall A provides no direct access to the end apartments, Hall B had quite different internal arrangements. This second hall, which was built using the

continuous-trench method, was erected directly over the burnt remains of Hall A. Much of the debate surrounding Hall B has focused on the fact that it has been taken as evidence for the Anglian expansion into Midlothian in AD 638, although Cessford considers any interpretation of the siege of Edinburgh as an Anglian victory to be an 'unproven hypothesis symptomatic of a desire to create a grand tale of Northumbrian expansion' (1999: 152). A seventh-century date, nonetheless, is supported by the artefactual evidence, and Alcock was convinced that 'there can be no doubt that [Hall B] represents, in archaeological terms, the replacement of a British prince of the Gododdin by an Anglian lord of Bernicia' (1987: 244–45; see also Hope-Taylor 1980: 18–19), with the British hall destroyed by the advancing invaders. In support of this, parallels have been drawn between Hall B and the halls of the Oswald phase at Yeavering, even down to the jointed wall-technique (Hope-Taylor 1980: 18).

Hall B was rectangular in shape with an annexe at the western end. At least two doorways led into the buildings, one on the eastern short-end and another on the southern wall of the most westerly chamber. Unlike Hall A, the placement of these doorways is suggestive of different entrance routes for different groups of people. The eastern doorway could be proposed as the principal doorway, for the use of the general populace when attending ceremonial events. The higher-status attendees, on the other hand, might have been provided with a western *en face* entrance, allowing them to step like actors onto the 'hall-stage'. The middle compartment might indicate an even deeper level of entry or, alternatively, a storeroom for the paraphernalia used in ritual ceremonies, as has been proposed for Room D in Hall I:1a at the site of Borg on the Lofoten Islands in northern Norway (Herschend and Mikkelsen 2003: 66). Another possibility is that it was used as a meeting room, for audiences with and between high-status individuals, and that it was placed in the centre of the hall in order to ensure definite controlled access. As Rapoport noted, 'it is often what a culture makes impossible by prohibiting [...], either explicitly or implicitly, rather than what it makes inevitable, which is significant' (1969: 47). The central room in Hall B is highlighted by its placement furthest from the outside. Unlike Hall A, where only one room can be accessed from the outside, Hall B was provisioned with at least two entrances leading into different sections of the building plus an annexe on the western end, which could be proposed as a further level of exclusivity as it can only be accessed from within the building. The impression is that the two different designs show an increasing emphasis on hierarchy and exclusivity, with 'public' and 'private' rooms created for different functional purposes. The separation of entrances, in the sense that in Hall B entrance did not have to be directly into the hall-room, is suggestive of the segregation of people,

potentially according to rank. Of course, such spatial analyses cannot reveal 'hidden and unspoken expressions of status and power' (Fairclough 1992: 350). They also cannot provide details of any special rituals that may have been attached to entrance procedures (see Rosselin 1999). To use another ethnographic example, access to the room of the lineage deities in Nepalese society is controlled by psychological prohibition, as it is believed that crossing the threshold without the appropriate permissions will result in bloody flux or even paralysis (Walter 2001: 110). It may appear that access to the hall was more inclusive in Hall A, but social taboos might have made further 'depth' to the building unnecessary (see Hillier and Hanson 1988; Foster 1989). Despite this, there clearly are differences between the two hall designs, which must surely be indicative of some form of change in society. In this instance, *contra* Cessford (1999), the change may well have been brought about by the introduction of a new ruling culture into the Lothians. The ideological application of architectural hierarchy to the hall at Doon Hill might ultimately have contributed to the development of a society increasingly governed by status.

Yeavering

The two halls at Doon Hill were isolated, in the sense that there appears to have been no settlement surrounding them, aside from the putative ritual structure to the north. This is not the case at other hall sites. The halls at both Borg and Lejre were found in association with several auxiliary buildings (Christensen 1991; contributions to Munch and others 2003). This is also true of Yeavering, which is a particularly interesting site as it demonstrates that the architecture of the hall was not tied to one specific cultural or religious group: similar architectural elements and ground plans can be seen in buildings constructed by both the Bernicians and the Deirans before and after the conversion to Christianity (Hope-Taylor 1977: 276; Carver 1998: 12). However, instead of discussing the phasing at Yeavering, which has been covered in depth elsewhere, this part of the paper will discuss just two of the halls, A4 from Phase IIIC and A3(a) from Phase IV (Figure 16) (see Hope-Taylor 1977; Scull 1991; Alcock 2003; contributions to Frodsham and O'Brien 2005).

Yeavering was sited on a low gravel ridge above the river Glen at the foot of Yeavering Bell, where it was overlooked by a hillfort dating to the first century AD (Rollason 2003: 82). The settlement itself has been dated to the sixth and seventh centuries AD on the basis of building types and a small number of finds like the gold-washed copper alloy copy of a Merovingian *tremiss* dating to the 630s or 640s and an inlaid iron buckle loop, which is 'virtually certain to have been an import
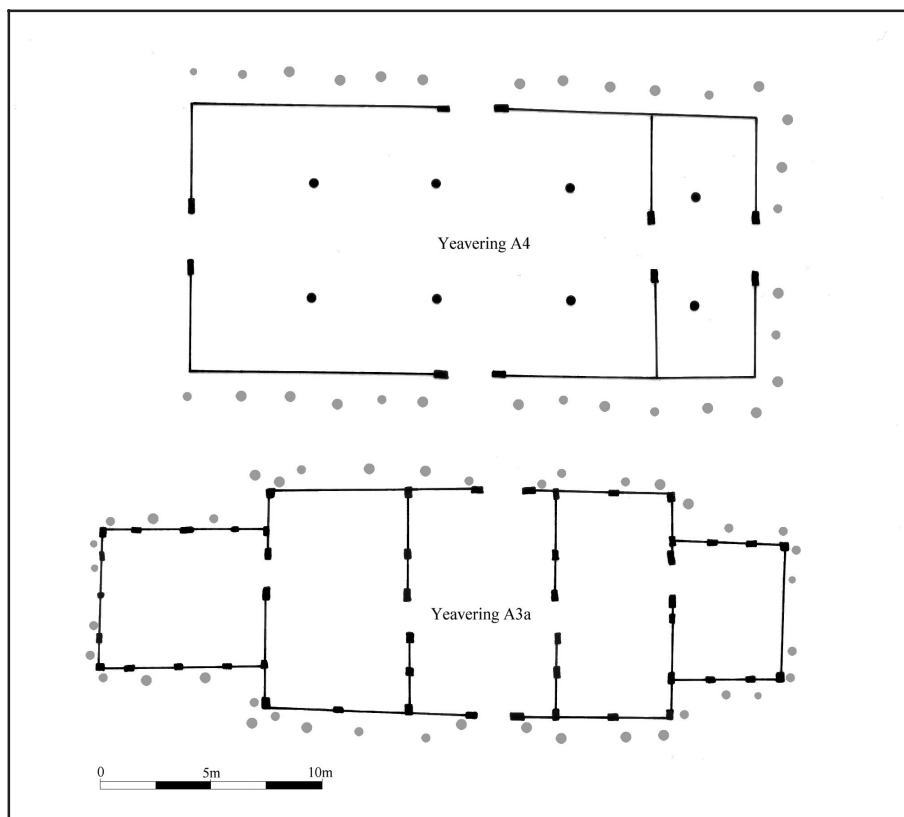
Figure 16. Yeavering halls A4 and A3(a) (drawn by Sven Grabow after Alcock 2003: 247).

from the Frankish kingdoms [between] AD 570–80 and 630–640' (Welch 1984: 77–78). The settlement itself consisted of a series of rectangular buildings to the west of a large enclosure (Alcock 2003: 234). The halls were concentrated in the southern-central part of the site, and these were accompanied by a number of associated buildings to the north and west and, in later phases, by a Christian church to the east (Hope-Taylor 1977).

A4, the earliest hall considered here, was built as a simple rectangle joined to a smaller building by a courtyard (Alcock 2003: 246). It was built using planks placed in continuous trenches and supported by buttressed walls (Alcock 2003: 247). The main chamber had a floor area of some 226m², with an internal division towards the eastern end of the hall providing a separated space (Alcock 2003: 247). Unlike Doon Hill A or B, there was a doorway in the mid-point of each of the four walls but, like Doon Hill B, *en face* entrance to the main hall-room could also be

provided for high-status attendees without the need for them to precede the rest of the guests. In this instance, the Yeavering audience could approach the hall from the north, south, and east of the settlement, with the king and his chosen companions able to enter the hall via the western portal and antechamber. In such a way, the architecture of the hall could be used to enhance and maintain the prestige and power of the king through dramatic spatio-utilization.

A3(a), on the other hand, shows a 'change of plan, from a simple [but] rather wide rectangle to a narrower oblong' (Alcock 2003: 246–47), although it was still linked to an associated building by a small courtyard. The construction method was the same as that of A4, but now the main chamber had a floor area of no more than 65m^2 (Alcock 2003: 247). Only two external doors existed, one either side of the main chamber. The access to A3(a) was more restricted than in A4, and processional approaches were perhaps more regulated. The flow of traffic between the three rooms and the two annexes is awkward in the sense that the internal doorways were offset, and the additional layer of depth is suggestive of increasing exclusivity and social ranking. Alcock considers that there is 'marked difference in terms of both royal dignity and convenience' between the two halls, and he suggested that while A4 'thoroughly deserve[s] the designation of a great hall' the same might not be true of A3(a). In his opinion, this is because it is hard to understand how it could have 'served both the domestic needs and the more elevated functions of a royal hall' (2003: 252). The problem with this interpretation is that it presupposes that a similar function was being attempted during Phase IV as in Phase IIIC.

Politics and Religion in the Hall

It is at this point that the concept of 'religion in the hall' must be introduced. Studies of literary sources in Scandinavia had concluded that the word *hof* signified a building separate to the hall and used for religious purposes (Olsen 1915; 1926; Gunnell 2003). In Scandinavia, it was assumed that such cult buildings had been covered by early churches, such as that at Mære in Trøndelag, Norway, where traces underneath both the northern and southern baulks of the eleventh-century stave church, and the appearance of *gullgubbar* (tiny gold-foil plaques depicting single or paired figures) within them, were thought to belong to an earlier ritual building (Lidén 1969; Munch 2003: 261). In Britain it was argued that no such buildings existed and that Pope Gregory's AD 610 edict, that the pagan temples be converted into churches, was only caused by his misunderstanding of heathen religions and a mistaken attribution of Roman Mithras cult practices to the British pagans (Olsen 1966: 279). Via systematic linguistic analysis of both theoforic and

non-theoforic words, however, it was instead proposed that there existed no 'native word that could be used as an unequivocal description of a temple' (Olsen 1966: 279). In Olsen's (1966: 280) opinion, *hof* had been inaccurately translated by Christian clerics as a temple because this was compatible with their own spatial understanding of the physical organization of religion, or in other words, in line with their own particular *habitus*. Thus, it might be the case that the hall was the location of both secular and religious rituals and that it should now be seen as a 'symbolic pagan microcosmos, somewhat like a theatre stage, [with] the gift of being two places at once in the minds of the audience, at least during the duration of the performance' (Gunnell 2003: 14).

The discovery of the putative pagan temple at Yeavering (D2), which has been attributed to Phases II–IIIC, complicates this picture (see Hope-Taylor 1977: 277). Had D2 not existed, it would have been possible to argue that A4 served both religious and secular ritual purposes, making a large unencumbered space necessary. Its existence, however, is more indicative of a functional split, with pagan rites being celebrated in the cult building and socio-political events taking place in the hall. This distinction between the secular and the religious seemingly continued into the time of A3(a), with the temple being succeeded by the construction of a Christian church (B). Interestingly, the ground plan of this church was remarkably similar to that of the hall, which serves to underline the fact that such a ground plan was not necessarily ideologically linked to religion. It may also suggest that the attributes associated with the lordly hall were also considered suitable for the 'hall' of God. In terms of the two Yeavering halls, it could be argued that these buildings represented the locale for secular ceremonies, aimed at bonding and governing the populace, although it would not be unreasonable to suggest that religious and sec-ular ceremonies were still associated, in the same way that Harvest Festival rituals combine both religious and secular ceremonies and traditions. Whether the events taking place in them were for religious or political purposes the changes from A4 to A3(a) are still significant. In the times of A4, a large room with unrestricted visual access was necessary. This is perhaps indicative of ceremonies that included a large number of the populace, who gained access through two lateral doorways. The western, short-wall entrance to A4 would have allowed processions and indi-vidual supplicants to approach the king/'priest' seated at the eastern end of the main chamber. By the time of A3(a), however, the hall had been layered into a series of rooms with increasing inaccessibility. The ground plan of this later hall is suggestive of governance separated from the people and may indicate that the ruling elite felt more secure in their dominance, and consequently had less need for displays of grandeur and exercises in bonding than their predecessors had. In this

sense, Alcock's (2003: 252, see above) confusion over how A3(a) could perform the functions of A4 is irrelevant. A3(a) did not need to provide the same ground plan as the earlier hall as its function had altered. There was still a central chamber for the performance of secular rites, but the increasingly hierarchical nature of society limited attendees to those from the higher ranks, making a large open space unnecessary but the provision of rooms deep within the structure and protected by multiple entrance boundaries crucial in order to maintain that rank.

Final Discussion

In recent years it has been recognized that a comprehensive understanding of the early medieval period (and as a consequence the hall) cannot be found in the literary sources, as they do not 'satisfy [our] modern conception of reliability' (Meulengracht Sørensen 1993: 148–49). These sources have undergone considerable reworking from the time of their initial performance to that of their translation into the written word, and 'quite different purposes or emphases, even different interpretations, might assert themselves over the old material, according to the demands of a different audience and [the] changing tastes and preoccupations of the poets' (Bradley 1995: viii). Consequently, they are of prime importance only to the period in which the manuscript was written (Bradley 1995: xiii). The *Beowulf* manuscript, for example, has been dated to the beginning of the eleventh century, but whilst the initial composition of the epic may be as early as the mid-sixth century, it is generally thought to date to the time of Bede, that is, the eighth century (Backhouse 1991: 20; Bradley 1995: xiii). Thus, unlike the Yeavering halls, the epic cannot be described as an 'artefact of the sixth or seventh century', but instead as one of the eleventh (Koch 1997: ix). By this time, the Christian Church had a monopoly over literary production, and the ensuing creation of secular texts in monastic *scriptoria* provided Christian propagandists with the perfect opportunity to spread an ideology best suited to their own political needs (Earl 1983: 142). The *Landnámabók*'s insistence, for example, that *hoftollr* (temple dues) were required has been interpreted as a deliberate attempt to (re)construct pagan laws in order to justify the Christian Church's demand for tithes (Olsen 1966: 277). The *Kjalnesinga saga* is even more specific in the parallels it draws, stating that inside the *hof* 'there was a structure similar to the choir in churches nowadays and there was a raised platform in the middle of the floor like an altar' (Gunnell 2003). In reality, there is no literary evidence that has not been 'filtered through a Christian lens' (Earl 1983: 142; see also Hedeager 2001: 477–78).

Support for the details of the hall given in the literary sources appears to be provided, inter alia, by artefacts like Gotlandic picture stones, Viking Age coins, the Monymusk Reliquary, the Franks Casket, and the *Book of Kells* (Reynolds 1980: 42; Herschend 1998: 26; Webster 1999; Alcock 2003: 327). These are just as susceptible, however, to ideological manipulation as the literary sources and indeed the hall. Comparable fusions of pagan and Christian ideas can be seen, for example, in the Franks Casket, where New Testament scenes are shown alongside those from *Egil's saga* (Pentz 2000: 14). It could be proposed that such artefacts were created using evidence taken from the literary sources and, as such, that they are simply a reiteration of an ideological discourse. As with the texts, any interpretation of the hall and these supposedly supportive artefacts must be made in 'relation to the social and symbolic contexts of the times [in which] they were produced' (Andrén 1998: 23). Early medieval people made and manipulated material culture in order to project an idealized image of themselves and their place in the world. 'Products of human creativity and invention were not simply essentialist reflections of an inner (given) reality. Rather, they were *actively* used in the production and transformation of identities; they were used in the projection of, and resistance to, power, and they were used to create meaning in, and to structure, the routines of everyday life' (Moreland 2001: 80; original emphasis). *Contra* Meulengracht Sørensen's assertion that archaeological remains are facts, 'as opposed to the literature's interpretation of facts' (2003: 266), all forms of material culture, be they the written word or the constructed building, must be seen as poetic devices that portray correct, or idealized, notions of society (Alcock 1992: 205).

Both sites discussed in this paper show in their architecture a move towards an increasingly hierarchical society or at least a desire for one. In both cases, more depth was added to the later buildings by providing additional room-divisions and forcing access through defined and controlled pathways. In both cases, there is the possibility that the change in architecture was accompanied by a change in culture, in the sense that they might be representative of a change in regime and, as such, can be argued to signify a shift in ideology (see Aliaga-Kelly 1986: 148, 255). To ensure the continuation of this developing ideology it was necessary to reify this shift in architectural form. As Lefebvre said, 'what is an ideology without a space to which it refers, a space which it describes, whose vocabulary and links it makes use of, and whose code it embodies?' (1997: 44). Thus, the increasingly hierarchical nature of society was expressed through the medium of the hall, and the recursivity of its architecture reinforced the desired human power structures. It was an enforcement that might have been applicable in both secular and religious contexts. Literary and archaeological studies have shown that the *hof* and the hall might have

been distinct, but they have also revealed the possibility that they were one and the same. Whilst a temple-like building has been revealed at Yeavering that might have been contemporary with the earliest of the halls, and similar buildings are coming to light on other hall sites such as Borg in Östergötland, Sweden and Tissø in Denmark, there exists a substantial body of evidence to suggest that socio-religious acts were an integral part of hall life (Fabech 1994; Nielsen 1997; 2006; Jørgensen 2001; 2003).

Through the application of post-processual notions of agency and structuration, this paper has attempted to show that the architecture of the hall was expressive of the ideology of early medieval society. Changes in this architecture are indicative of changes to that ideology, and as such, they are of paramount importance to any study of the period. Attempting to explain either the manifestation of the hall or changes made to it over time in terms of the introduction and fusion of non-indigenous with indigenous ideas ignores crucial questions surrounding the meaning of that architecture. The introduction of physically secluded rooms and new approach and entrance routes meant something in terms of societal ideology and practical performance. If this form of architectural organization was chosen from the many possible alternatives, then it must have been deliberately selected for a strategic purpose. This deliberate intent was excluded from past culture-historical and processual interpretations, and the hall was seen as a passive reflection of culture rather than as an active contributor to the development and maintenance of that culture. This paper has suggested that the positioning and usage of doorways could have helped to create and maintain an increasingly hierarchical society. It could equally have used the example of the movement of the high seat to express a similar point. Herschend (1998: 25), for example, has performed an equivalent analysis on the change from the earlier side-aisle position, sheltered but prominently placed by the fire, to a position at the short end of the hall. In his opinion, this is representative of a shift from a 'balanced and symmetrical position [...] to an asymmetrical and [...] dominant' one (Herschend 1998: 25, 28). It is a shift that could be argued to reflect the development of the 'hall owner's personal power [...] matched by his [*sic*] possibilities of displaying them' (Herschend 1998: 29). Thus, it can be seen that the positioning of the high seat was dynamic in the construction and maintenance of social relationships in the same way that doorways were. In more general terms, and via the visual presentation of social distinction and the classification of exclusive domains, the hall could be used to indicate social position and to assert identity (Ware 2003: 53). The use of space is, of course, a '*trompe l'oeil* concealing strategic intentions and actions' (Lefebvre 1997: 143). The roots of these distortions, however, the strategic intentions behind such

architectural dissemblance, emphasize the iconic and conceptual importance of the hall as highlighted at the outset by the literary sources. As such, the study of hall architecture has much to tell us about the ideology of early medieval society. As Abel stated, 'we do not have architecture […] but rather a part of us is architecture. Architecture is a way of being, just as science, art, and the other major culture forms are ways of being. So when we come to define the true and deeper functions of architecture, we will not be simply describing the production of a certain type of artefact, but explaining one of the original ways in which we know ourselves' (1997: 154).

Acknowledgements

References

Abel, C. 1997. *Architecture and Identity: Towards a Global Eco-Culture* (Oxford: Architectural Press)

Abercrombie, N., and others. 1980. *The Dominant Ideology Thesis* (London: Allen & Unwin)

Addyman, P. 1972. 'The Anglo-Saxon House: A New Review', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 1: 273–307

Alcock, L. 1987. *Economy, Society and Warfare among the Britons and Saxons* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press)

———. 1992. 'Message from the Dark Side of the Moon: Western and Northern Britain in the Age of Sutton Hoo', in *The Age of Sutton Hoo: The Seventh Century in North-Western Europe*, ed. by M. O. H. Carver (Woodbridge: Boydell), 205–15

———. 2003. *Kings and Warriors, Craftsmen and Priests in Northern Britain AD 550–850* (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland)

Aliaga-Kelly, C. 1986. 'The Anglo-Saxon Occupation of South-East Scotland' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Glasgow)

Andrén, A. 1998. *Between Artifacts and Texts: Historical Archaeology in Global Perspective* (London: Plenum)

Backhouse, J. 1991. 'Beowulf', in *The Making of England: Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture AD 600–900*, ed. by L. Webster and J. Backhouse (London: British Museum), 20–21

Boas, F. 1920. 'The Methods of Ethnology', *American Anthropologist*, 22: 314–15

Boult, K. 1910. *Åsgard and the Norse Heroes* (London: Dent)

Bourdieu, P. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Bradley, S. 1995. *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, Everyman's Library (London: Dent)

Brumfiel, E. 2000. 'On the Archaeology of Choice: Agency Studies as a Research Stratagem', in *Agency in Archaeology*, ed. by M.-A. Dobres and J. Robb (London: Routledge), 249–55

Carver, M. 1998. 'Conversion and Politics on the Eastern Seabord of Britain: Some Archaeological Indicators', in *Conversion and Christianity in the North Sea World*, ed. by B. Crawford (St Andrews: St Johns House), 11–40

———. 2001. 'Why That? Why There? Why Then? The Politics of Early Medieval Monumentality', in *Image and Power in the Archaeology of Early Medieval Britain: Essays in Honour of Rosemary Cramp*, ed. by H. Hamerow and A. MacGregor (Oxford: Oxbow), 1–22

Cessford, C. 1999. 'Relations between the Britons of Southern Scotland and Anglo-Saxon Northumbria', in *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. by J. Hawkes and S. Mills (Stroud: Sutton), 150–60

Christensen, T. 1991. 'Lejre Beyond Legend — the Archaeological Evidence', *Journal of Danish Archaeology*, 10: 163–85

Dobres, M.-A. and J. Robb (eds). 2000. *Agency in Archaeology* (London: Routledge)

Earl, J. 1983. 'The Role of the Men's Hall in the Development of the Anglo-Saxon Superego', *Psychiatry*, 46: 139–60

Fabech, C. 1994. 'Reading Society from the Cultural Landscape: South Scandinavia between Sacral and Political Power', in *The Archaeology of Gudme and Lundeborg*, ed. by P. Nielsen and others (Copenhagen: Institute of Prehistoric and Classical Archaeology), 169–83

Fairclough, G. 1992. 'Meaningful Constructions — Spatial and Functional Analysis of Medieval Buildings', *Antiquity*, 66: 348–66

Fairweather, A., and I. Ralston. 1993. 'The Neolithic Timber Hall at Balbridie, Grampian Region, Scotland: The Building, the Date, the Plant Macrofossils', *Antiquity*, 67: 313–23

Foster, S. 1989. 'Analysis of Spatial Patterns in Buildings (Access Analysis) as an Insight into Social Structure: Examples from the Scottish Atlantic Iron Age', *Antiquity*, 63: 40–50

Frodsham, P., and C. O'Brien (eds). 2005. *Yeavering: People, Power, & Place* (Oxford: Tempus)

Giddens, A. 1984. *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration* (Cambridge: Polity)

———. 1991. 'Structuration Theory: Past, Present and Future', in *Giddens' Theory of Structuration: A Critical Appreciation*, ed. by C. Bryant and D. Jary (London: Routledge), 210–21

Giles, K. 1999. 'Guildhalls and Social Identity in Late Medieval and Early Modern York c. 1350–1630' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of York)

Grenville, J. 2000. *Medieval Housing* (London: Leicester University Press)

Gunnell, T. 2003. 'Hof, Halls, God(ar) and Dwarves: An Examination of the Ritual Space in the Pagan Icelandic Hall', paper presented at the Cosmology Society conference 'Structure and Belief in Northern Europe', University of Edinburgh

Hedeager, L. 2001. 'Åsgard Reconstructed? Gudme — a "Central Place" in the North', in *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by M. De Jong and others (Leiden: Brill), 467–507

———. 2002. 'Scandinavian "Central Places" in a Cosmological Setting', in *Central Places in the Migration and Merovingian Periods*, ed. by B. Hårdh and L. Larsson (Lund: Almqvist & Wiksell), 3–18

Herschend, F. 1998. *The Idea of the Good in Late Iron Age Society* (Uppsala: Uppsala University Press)

Herschend, F., and D. Mikkelsen. 2003. 'The Main Building at Borg', in *Borg in Lofoten: A Chieftain's Farm in North Norway*, ed. by G. Munch and others (Trondheim: Tapir Academic Press), 41–76

Hillier, B., and J. Hanson. 1988. *The Social Logic of Space* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Hope-Taylor, B. 1977. *Yeavering: An Anglo-British Centre of Early Northumbria* (London: HMSO)

———. 1980. 'Balbridie … and Doon Hill', *Current Archaeology*, 72: 18–19

James, S., and others. 1984. 'An Early Medieval Building Tradition', *Archaeological Journal*, 141: 182–215

Jørgensen, L. 2001. 'From Tribute to the Estate System, 3rd to 12th Century', in *Kingdoms and Regionality: Transactions from the 49th Sachsensymposium 1998 in Uppsala*, ed. by A. Birgit (Stockholm: Archaeological Research Laboratory, Stockholm University), 73–82

———. 2003. 'Manor and Market at Lake Tissø in the Sixth to Eleventh Centuries: The Danish "Productive" Sites', in *Markets in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. by T. Pestell and K. Ulmschneider (Macclesfield: Windgather), 175–207

Kirk, T. 1997. 'Towards a Phenomenology of Building: The Neolithic Long Mound at La Commune-Sèche, Colombiers-sur-Seulles, Normandy', in *Semiotics of Landscape: Archaeology of the Mind*, ed. by G. Nash, BAR International Series, 661 (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports), 59–70

Koch, J. T. 1997. *The Gododdin of Aneirin: Text and Context from Dark Age Britain* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press)

Laing, L. 1969. 'Timber Halls in Dark Age Britain — Some Problems', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 46: 110–27

Leeds, E. T. 1936. *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

———. 1947. 'A Saxon Village at Sutton Courtenay, Berks.: A Third Report', *Archaeologia*, 112: 73–94

Lefebvre, H. 1997. *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell)

Lidén, H.-E. 1969. 'From Pagan Sanctuary to Christian Church: The Excavation of Mære Church in Trøndelag', *Norwegian Archaeological Review*, 2: 3–32

Lowe, C. 1999. *Angels, Fools, and Tyrants: Britons and Anglo-Saxons in Southern Scotland* (Edinburgh: Canongate)

Magnusson, M., and H. Pálsson. 1966. 'Introduction', in *King Harald's Saga: Harald Hardradi of Norway*, ed. by M. Magnusson and H. Pálsson (London: Penguin), 9–39

McClure, J., and R. Collins. 1999. *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

Meulengracht Sørensen, P. 1993. *Saga and Society: An Introduction to Old Norse Literature* (Odense: Odense University Press)

———. 2003. 'The Hall in Norse Literature', in *Borg in Lofoten: A Chieftain's Farm in North Norway*, ed. by G. Munch and others (Trondheim: Tapir Academic Press), 265–72

Moreland, J. 2001. *Archaeology and Text* (London: Duckworth)

Munch, G. 2003. 'Borg as a Pagan Centre', in *Borg in Lofoten: A Chieftain's Farm in North Norway*, ed. by G. Munch and others (Trondheim: Tapir Academic Press), 253–63

Munch, G., and others (eds). 2003. *Borg in Lofoten: A Chieftain's Farm in North Norway* (Trondheim: Tapir Academic Press)

Nielsen, A.-L. 1997. 'Pagan Cultic and Votive Acts at Borg', in *Visions of the Past: Trends and Traditions in Swedish Medieval Archaeology*, ed. by H. Andersson and others (Lund: Institute of Archaeology), 373–92

———. 2006. 'Rituals and Power: About a Small Building and Animal Bones from the Late Iron Age', in *Old Norse Religion in Long-Term Perspectives: Origins, Changes, and Interactions*, ed. by A. Andrén and others (Lund: Nordic Academic Press), 243–47

Olsen, M. 1915. *Hedenske kultminder i norske stedsnavne: Vitenskaps selskapets skrifter, II*, Hist.-filos. Klasse, 1914, no 4 (Kristiania: Dybwad)

———. 1926. *Ættegård og helligdom: Norske stedsnavn socialt og religionshidtorik belyst* (Oslo: Aschehoug)

Olsen, O. 1966. *Hørg, hov og kirke: Historiske og arkæologiske vikingetidsstudier* (Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskriftselskab)

Pentz, P. 2000. 'Kings of the North Sea AD 250–850', in *Kings of the North Sea AD 250–850*, ed. by E. Kramer and others (Newcastle: Tyne and Wear Museums), 11–32

Ralston, I. 1982. 'A Timber Hall at Balbridie Farm: The Neolithic Settlement of Northeast Scotland', *Aberdeen University Review*, 49.4: 238–48

Rapoport, A. 1969. *House Form and Culture* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall)

———. 1980. 'Vernacular Architecture and the Cultural Determinants of Form', in *Buildings and Society: Essays on the Social Development of the Built Environment*, ed. by A. King (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul), 283–305

Reynolds, N. 1980. 'Dark Age Timber Halls and the Background to Excavation at Balbridie', *Scottish Archaeological Forum*, 10: 41–60

Rollason, D. 2003. *Northumbria, 500–1100: Creation and Destruction of a Kingdom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Rosselin, C. 1999. 'The Ins and Outs of the Hall: A Parisian Example', in *At Home: An Anthropology of Domestic Space*, ed. by I. Cieraad (New York: Syracuse University Press), 53–59

Scull, C. 1991. 'Post-Roman Phase I at Yeavering: A Re-consideration', *Medieval Archaeology*, 35: 51–63

Shanks, M., and C. Tilley. 1982. 'Ideology, Symbolic Power and Ritual Communication: A Reinterpretation of Neolithic Mortuary Practices', in *Symbolic and Structural Archaeology*, ed. by I. Hodder (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 129–54

Soja, E. 1996. *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real and Imagined Places* (Oxford: Blackwell)

Stone, M. 2003. 'The Stratigraphy of Temporary Community: An Anthropology of Home away from Home' (unpublished master's thesis, University of Edinburgh)

Thompson, J. 1985. *Studies in the Theory of Ideology* (Berkeley: University of California Press)

Trigger, B. 2000. *A History of Archaeological Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Walker, J. Forthcoming. 'The Ideology of the Hall' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of York)

Walter, D. 2001. 'Shamanism in the Nepal Himalayas', in *The Archaeology of Shamanism*, ed. by N. Price (London: Routledge), 105–19

Ware, C. 2003. 'The Use and Organisation of Space: Settlements in England AD 400–1000' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Newcastle)

Webster, L. 1999. 'The Iconographic Programme of the Franks Casket', in *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. by J. Hawkes and S. Mills (Stroud: Sutton), 227–46

Welch, M. 1984. 'The Dating and Significance of the Inlaid Buckle Loop from Yeavering, Northumberland', in *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, vol. III, ed. by S. Chadwick Hawkes and others (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology), 77–78

Social and Biological Status in the Bowl Hole Early Medieval Burial Ground, Bamburgh, Northumberland

Sarah Groves

Introduction

The quality and quantity of artefacts buried with the dead in early medieval cemeteries from the fifth to seventh centuries AD have led to debate over the degree in which burial practice was influenced by the social and biological identity of the individual at the time of their death (Härke 1997a; Lucy 2000) or in relation to other factors such as the prevailing ideology of the mourners (Crawford 2004). In the early medieval cemeteries from the seventh century onwards the relationships between burial practice, status, and sex or gender are less well understood, partly through lack of research in this area and partly because of the scarcity of grave goods in this period (Hadley 2002; Buckberry 2007). At some sites the overriding burial practice is apparently uniform supine, east–west, unfurnished burial. However in other cemeteries, variations in burial practice are seen, and therefore the potential exists to identify relationships between burial practice and biological information about the individual.

The Bowl Hole burial ground in Bamburgh, Northumberland is a sixth- to eighth-century cemetery with variation in burial practices and good preservation of the human skeletal material which has been excavated and recorded using modern techniques. As such it offers an excellent opportunity to examine burial practice in parallel with biological information from the individuals themselves. This paper will explore the relationships between burial practices and biological data such as age, sex, and markers of musculoskeletal stress seen at the Bowl Hole, in order to identify patterns of burial practice associated with the biological 'identity' of the individual.

Social Status

The primary sources of evidence for differentiation in early medieval Britain are the sizeable corpus of graves that have been excavated across the country, settlement sites, and the body of written law and literature that survives from this period. Using evidence from grave goods and burial practice as a proxy for social status has a long history (Lucy 2002b). By the sixth century AD, local variation in the types of grave goods buried with some individuals had developed, particularly in relation to age and sex. This 'grammar' of burial has been used by archaeologists and historians to try to identify social groupings within populations, based upon sex or gender, age, role in society, and religious beliefs (Halsall 1995).

From the seventh century AD changes in burial practice began to emerge, with an overall decline in the provision of grave goods and the emergence, particularly in the north-east, of isolated well-furnished graves (Alcock 1981; Geake 1997; Higham 1986; 1993). This change may reflect a transition in society, away from a more 'open' society where rank was based upon achievement and towards a more hierarchical 'stratified' society with reduced social mobility (Peebles and Kus 1977). Increasing social stratification is thought to have taken place during the sixth and seventh centuries, as the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms developed and certain family and kinship groups became more powerful (Arnold 1997). It is possible that this social change may be evident in changes of patterns of physical stress in skeletal samples spanning this chronological period. By examining human skeletal material from stratified cemeteries we can begin to reconstruct this biological identity and recognize connections between social and biological status, although these connections may not always be as straightforward as they may first appear (Härke 1997b). Although osteological methods cannot always identify the sex of an individual and methods of ageing may be imprecise, the standard methods used in this study can provide a substantial amount of information about the individual (Brickley and McKinley 2004).

Physical Activity and Social Status

If biological factors such as sex and age at death have an impact upon the way in which individuals are treated in death, is it possible to identify other aspects of the biological identity that are reflected in burial practice? Previous attempts to identify correlations between burial practice and osteological information in early medieval cemeteries have primarily focused upon the age and sex of the individual (Stoodley 1999; 2000; Gowland 2002; 2007), or Heinrich Härke's work

specifically on weapon burials. Härke gathered data from a range of early medieval burial sites in the attempt to refute the assumption that the presence of weaponry in burials directly indicated warrior status, arguing that most weapon burials did not represent a complete functional set, that there was no correlation between periods of recorded warfare and the occurrence of weapon burials, and that weapons were buried with individuals who were too old, too young, or too physically infirm to have wielded them (Härke 1989a; 1990;1992a; 1992b).

While Härke's thinking is valid, and the symbolic nature of weapon burials is clear, the osteological basis of his argument is not sound. He cites that the presence of 'spina bifida' in an adult male from Berinsfield, Oxfordshire meant this individual was severely disabled and thus incapable of using the spear and shield with which he was buried (Härke 1990: 36). In fact, this individual had spina bifida occulta, a minor and quite common condition involving incomplete fusion of the neural arches of the sacrum. This condition is symptomless and it is very different from the debilitating condition of severe spina bifida (cystica) (Roberts and Manchester 1995). If this individual had actually had spina bifida cystica, in the early medieval period he would not have survived to adulthood as spina bifida cystica leaves the spinal cord exposed to injury and infection, as well as causing paralysis and incontinence (Roberts and Manchester 1995: 36). Furthermore, Härke argues that the presence of osteoarthritis and poorly healed fractures would have prevented other males from using weapons during life (Härke 1990; 1992b) but does not recognize the possibility that the status of 'warrior' could be continued once the physical ability to carry out the role had been lost.

Despite its shortcomings, Härke's research opened the possibility that there might be correlations between the burial assemblage and the biological identity of an individual, particularly by identifying the correlation between knife and spearhead size and the age of the individual (Härke 1989b; 1990). Using modern osteological techniques it may be possible to identify further correlations.

It is possible that differences in lifestyle brought about by social variation may be identifiable by examining levels of physical activity as indicated by changes in the skeleton. These changes, known as 'markers of occupational stress' (MOS) (Ronchese 1948) or 'musculoskeletal stress markers' (MSM), include pathological and non-pathological conditions such as enthesopathies, asymmetry in limb size and shape, Schmorl's nodes, and osteoarthritis (OA).

MSMs are thought to develop as the result of repetitive or excessive activity that is begun at a young age and continued throughout life. Activities that have been suggested as causes of activity-related stress in archaeological populations include archery and weapon use (Stirland 2000; Peterson 1998; Schmitt and others 2003),

rowing (Lai and Lovell 1992), weaving (Kennedy 1989; Groves 2001), and a variety of agricultural and subsistence activities (Bridges 1989; 1991; Dutour 1986). However, these conditions and skeletal changes can also be caused by other factors including age, injury, and disease. If these skeletal changes are observed in otherwise normal individuals it may be possible to infer some kind of physical activity as a cause.

The Bowl Hole Burial Ground

Bamburgh is a small village on the Northumbrian coast, fifty miles north of Newcastle and fifteen miles south of Berwick (Map 18). The village is dominated by Bamburgh Castle, standing on a basalt outcrop overlooking the North Sea and the Farne Islands. In 1996 the Bamburgh Research Project (BRP) was established to explore the archaeology of Bamburgh Castle and the surrounding area (Young 2003). The BRP has undertaken survey and excavations at the site of the chapel within the castle (Wood 2005), in the West Ward of the castle, and in the village (BRP 2004; 2005) and a series of excavations in the area of the Bowl Hole burial ground (BRP 1998; Wood 2003).

   In 1817 a storm uncovered a number of stone-lined graves in the dune field to the south of the castle. These graves were described by Bateson as being 'formed of flagstones set on edge' (1893: 56–57). In 1894 an excavation took place revealing several cist burials, two crouched burials, and an infant. Unfortunately none of the early excavations produced any records, and by the late twentieth century the exact location of the cemetery had been lost. During the 1960s and 1970s Brian Hope-Taylor undertook excavations to re-locate the cemetery, excavating along the ridge to the south of the castle and in the area that is now the castle car park, without success (Hope-Taylor 1962). It appears that Hope-Taylor did not consult the 1886 First Edition Ordnance Survey map, which clearly shows the 'Old Danish Burying Ground' in the dunes to the south of the castle. This area is known as the Bowl Hole because of a large, seasonally flooding dune slack, but the cemetery itself is situated on a clay plateau just to the south of the Bowl Hole.

   In 1998 the BRP set out to find the cemetery and assess the extent to which the site was being damaged by erosion and encroaching sycamore trees. Three test pits were excavated in the area suggested by the OS map. The first two pits found only wind-blown sand while the third of these test pits revealed a cist burial. A five-metre-square trench was put in on the site of the third pit and produced seven grave cuts with a mixture of burial types and orientations. Further excavations

Map 18. The location of Bamburgh in Northern Britain, and the location of the Castle, Bowl Hole Cemetery, and church of St Aidan in Bamburgh village. (© Bamburgh Research Project)

from 1999 to 2007 have produced at least one hundred individual skeletons and a large quantity of disarticulated bone.

Based upon the density of burials excavated to date, the Bowl Hole burial ground may consist of several hundred burials, making this one of the largest early medieval cemeteries in Northumbria, and certainly one of the best preserved. Three of the individuals excavated in 1999 were radiocarbon dated; producing 2 sigma calibrated dates of between AD 560 and 670 for skeleton 130 (OxA-9433), AD 640 and 730 for skeleton 129 (OxA-9432), and AD 650 and 780 for skeleton 134 (SUERC-10813), all at the 95 per cent probability level.

The full extent of the cemetery has not yet been identified; the eastern edge of the site appears to have eroded into the Bowl Hole proper, and the density of burial decreases to the west, where there may be evidence for a boundary ditch. The southern and northern edges of the cemetery have also not been identified, but to the north the plateau ends, and as the burials in this region are generally shallow,

erosion may have removed any evidence for boundaries. To the south the clay plateau extends for several hundred metres, and in 2004 exploratory trenches uncovered two burials around twenty-five metres to the south of the main ceme- tery area (shown as an inset in Figure 17). These burials were very similar to those in the main area and shared a similar orientation, suggesting that they are a con- tinuation of the same cemetery.

In December 2006 a geophysical survey, funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council, was carried out in area of the Bowl Hole, to try to identify the extent of the cemetery. This survey identified some possible graves and other inter- esting features that were explored in the 2007 excavation season. These features included two large apparently clay-lined pits that cut through some of the burials, but were probably later medieval in date. These pits may have had an industrial function — possibly originally as tanning or retting pits (P. Rowe, pers. comm.), although they seem to have been used as rubbish pits at a later date. This suggests that the cemetery fell out of use at some point in the medieval period and the function of the landscape changed.

A plan of the cemetery (Figure 17) shows evidence for rough rows, interrupted in some areas by intercutting burials, suggesting multiple phases of use. There is evidence for the disturbance of some graves during the lifetime of the cemetery, where later burials have been cut through earlier graves. Other disturbances asso- ciated with finds of modern glass and ceramics may be evidence of the excavations carried out at the site in 1894.

The Skeletal Sample

The human skeletal material from the Bowl Hole is generally well preserved, which permitted a detailed osteological analysis. The demography of the site appears to be that of a relatively normal population — adults of both sexes were present, along with a range of juveniles from newborn infants to adolescents (Table 6). By the end of the 2006 excavation season, ninety-two distinct individuals were excavated, and a further minimum of twenty-one individuals represented by disarticulated re- mains. Individual skeletons were analysed using standard osteological methods of ageing and sexing (Brickley and McKinley 2004). Of the distinct individuals analysed, sixty-three were adults (68 per cent), twenty-nine were juveniles (32 per cent) and, of the sixty-three adults, twenty-nine were male (46 per cent), twenty-six were female (41 per cent), and eight individuals were of indeterminate sex (13 per cent). The adults included a relatively high proportion of older

Figure 17. Cemetery plan for the Bowl Hole cemetery, Bamburgh, at the end of the 2006 season of excavation. Stone linings to graves are shown in grey; unexcavated graves are shown with dashed lines; overlying burials are shown to the sides. Scale is 2 metres. Inset shows a test pit excavated in 2004, *c*. 25m to the south of the main trenches. (© Bamburgh Research Project)

Table 6. Age at death for adults and juveniles from the Bowl Hole cemetery.

Adult	18–35	36–50	51 and over	Unknown
No.	15	16	26	6
%	24	25	41	10

Juvenile	neonate	infant <5	6–11	Adolescent 12–17
No.	2	5	18	4
%	7	17	62	14
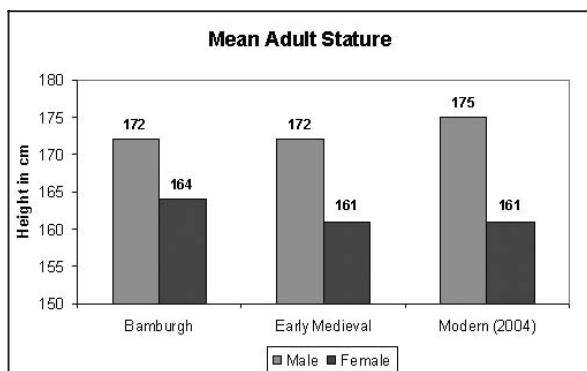
Mean Adult Stature

Graph 10. Mean adult stature at Bamburgh compared with early medieval stature data from Roberts and Cox (2003) and modern British data from NHS Information Centre (2005).

individuals: 41 per cent of adults were over the age of fifty-one years at death, in comparison with a range of 14 per cent to 31 per cent of adults in other early medieval sites from the north-east of England (Groves 2006: 158).

Graph 10 compares the mean male and female stature with those from other early medieval cemeteries and modern populations. The range of male stature was from 159 cm to 183 cm (mean 172 cm) and the range of female stature was 156 cm to 172 cm (mean 164 cm). The mean male stature at the Bowl Hole was the same as that seen in other early medieval sites and modern Britons, but the mean female stature was slightly higher than average (mean male 172 cm, mean female 161 cm, Roberts and Cox 2003: 195). Adult stature is influenced by diet and health in childhood, so the relatively high average adult stature at the Bowl Hole suggests that these individuals were well nourished and relatively free from disease during childhood.

Skeletal analysis has revealed a wide range of pathological conditions and non-metric traits. Conditions that may be indicative of nutritional stress and childhood illness such as cribra orbitalia and dental enamel hypoplasias (DEH) were frequent in comparison to other early medieval skeletal samples. Cribra orbitalia was present in 45 per cent of juveniles compared with 32 per cent of adults, and DEH were present in 74 per cent of young adults, 56 per cent of juveniles, and only 50 per cent of mature adults. Cribra orbitalia can re-model and disappear if the individual recovers from the causative illness, so this may be under-represented in more mature adults. DEH develop as the result of stresses during the formation of the teeth in infancy and childhood and do not re-model, so can give an unchanging record of childhood health (Hillson 1996). This suggests that those individuals who survived into mature adulthood suffered less from childhood disease or malnutrition than the individuals who died young.

The prevalence of these conditions in the Bowl Hole sample is much higher than those seen in early medieval Britain as a whole, where only 5.7 per cent of individuals had cribra orbitalia and 8.9 per cent had DEH (Roberts and Cox 2003:

185). The excellent preservation of the skeletal material from Bamburgh may go some way to explaining the high frequency of these conditions, but it may also be due to differences in methods of recording these conditions in the sources used by Roberts and Cox. The data for the Bowl Hole include all grades of cribra orbitalia and DEH, using the methods developed for the Global History of Health Project (Steckel and others 2005), and so may over-report these lesions in comparison with the data collected by Roberts and Cox where it is not known how the lesions were scored.

In contrast, infectious disease was infrequent. There were only a few cases of periostitis, which were generally restricted to the lower limbs, and no cases of more severe infection or osteomyelitis. Five individuals had lesions of the vertebrae and/or ribs that may be indicative of tuberculosis. Sinus infections were almost exclusively associated with dental caries, and other infections generally consisted of small bone cysts and other minor infectious changes.

Dental disease was extremely common; 84 per cent of individuals had calculus, 47 per cent had caries, 44 per cent had ante-mortem tooth loss, and 28 per cent had one or more abscesses. These prevalences are very high, particularly in comparison with other skeletal samples from the north of England. At the primarily sixth-century site of Norton in North Yorkshire only 8 per cent of the sample had abscesses, 29 per cent had caries, and 17 per cent had suffered ante-mortem tooth loss (Sherlock and Welch 1992). This pattern is repeated across early medieval Britain: the mean prevalence rates for other skeletal samples are much lower than those seen at Bamburgh; only 5.2 per cent of the total number of individuals had caries, 3.9 per cent had abscesses, 3.1 per cent suffered ante-mortem tooth loss, and 13.2 per cent had calculus (Roberts and Cox 2003: 189–93). This striking difference between Bamburgh and Norton and other sites in Britain is likely to be due to differences in diet and suggests that the people at Bamburgh had a diet that included more cariogenic foodstuffs such as refined flour, honey, or fruit.

Overall, there is little evidence for trauma amongst the people from the Bowl Hole. Fractures to the ribs were the most common form of injury identified, with nine individuals affected. Other injuries included fractures to the upper limb in four individuals, and one individual suffered a 'contra coup' injury to the left tibia and fibula and fractured ribs on both sides of the thorax. All of these injuries are of the type likely to be caused by a trip or fall and were well healed, suggesting that they may have had access to basic medical care. Two individuals show evidence for violence: one older adult male has a healed injury to the skull, probably caused by a bladed weapon, while a second young adult male has a series of sharp weapon injuries down the left-hand side of the body which almost certainly led to his death

(Groves forthcoming). Weapon injuries are infrequent in early medieval populations, particularly in the north of England. The skeletal collections from Ailcy Hill in Ripon, Jarrow on Tyneside, and West Heslerton in Yorkshire all only had one individual with evidence for weapon trauma. On average the percentage of individuals with weapon injuries in early medieval Britain is 2.6 per cent, not substantially different to that seen in the Bowl Hole population (Roberts and Cox 2003: 169).

Osteoarthritis of the vertebral or appendicular joints as defined by the presence of eburnation was identified in twenty-three adult individuals, and enthesopathies were also common giving many of the adults a robust appearance (Rogers and Waldron 1995). Schmorl's nodes were present in adults of all ages, and were even seen in juveniles in a few cases. Asymmetry in the upper limb was also identified, and in some individuals was particularly noticeable with the bones of the right arm being substantially larger than those of the left side. The patterns of these skeletal changes were compared within the sample group to try to identify any differences in levels of physical activity between individuals with different burial practices.

Burial Practices

Several different types of burial are found in the Bowl Hole cemetery, suggesting that there was social stratification within the community using the cemetery. First, there are the stone-lined or cist graves for which the cemetery was first noted. These are orientated roughly west–east and occasionally contain animal bones but no other grave goods. Some of the cists have been reused or show signs of having been disturbed at some point in the past. The cist burials show a great deal of variation in form, ranging from a single vertical slab to a series of slabs lining several sides of the grave. Although erosion and robbing of stone may have removed some side and capping slabs, no complete cists have been found, and only one burial has been excavated with a base slab, so this cemetery differs somewhat from the long-cist and 'head support' stone cemeteries found in eastern Scotland (for example, see Carver 2004) and southern Scotland (Henshall 1956; 1966). Two of the most complete cists contained crouched burials, a third substantially complete cist contained a supine infant, and the fourth more complete cist contained a disturbed burial which may have been crouched originally. Burial position was varied in the graves with less complete linings, where individuals were placed in supine (67 per cent) or prone (33 per cent) positions.

It seems that at Bamburgh the cists may have been formed from a combination of stone and timber, although there are no surviving traces of timber, unlike at other sites such as Whithorn in Scotland (Hill 1997). Other graves have no stone

lining, and these are generally in two depths: some are extremely shallow, often immediately below the turf, while others are up to 0.5m deep, indicating at least two phases of use. As the ground level changed over time, almost certainly as a result of erosion of the sand overlying the site, graves were dug more deeply into the underlying boulder clay. Like the cist burials, these individuals were in a variety of positions and orientated either west–east or north-west–south-east, except for two individuals who had their heads to the east. There was also a great deal of variation in the depth of the graves and the position of the bodies within the graves; bodies were placed in both prone and supine positions, extended and flexed, and with a variety of upper- and lower-limb placements.

Some individuals were buried with simple grave goods including knives, belts, bone combs, latch lifters, small worked flints, animal bones, items of personal jewellery, and faience beads. While the type and location of the grave goods indicate that the individuals were buried fully clothed or shrouded, there were none of the weapon burials or elaborate jewellery seen at earlier sites in the region, such as Norton (Sherlock and Welch 1992).

Of the total skeletal sample, forty adult individuals were included in the present study, and this sample was subdivided into four groups based upon the types and quantities of artefacts associated with each burial. Table 7 shows the percentage of males and females in each artefact group at Bamburgh and the number of individuals in each group. This table shows that the majority of individuals from Bamburgh were buried without artefacts of any kind, and that sex was clearly a factor for burial with deliberately placed animal bones as the only burial artefacts.

Table 7. Percentage and number of males and females in the artefact groups from Bamburgh: Group A - no artefacts; Group B - single animal bone, tooth, or shells; Group C - multiple animal bones; Group D - multiple iron objects.

	% (no.) in each group		
	Female	Male	Total no.
Group A	43 (9)	57 (12)	21
Group B	57 (4)	43 (3)	7
Group C	0 (0)	100 (6)	6
Group D	67 (4)	33 (2)	6
Total no.	17	23	40

Over half of the burials from Bamburgh had no grave goods, and these were placed into Group A. Group B burials had a single animal bone, tooth, or shells, or a potsherd. Although these are the type of items that may have simply been residual in the soil at the time of burial, the location of these items in the burials suggests

otherwise; in one case a whole sheep/goat horn was placed over the head of the individual. Several of the Group B burials also had partial cist slabs or stones placed around the body. Animal bones were frequently included in the burials, and the individuals in Group C had several deliberately placed animal bones or teeth, but no other items. Two of the individuals from Group C were buried in graves with partial cist linings, with animal bones carefully placed over or around the body, particularly on the chest or at the shoulder. All of the Group C individuals were males, although females did have animal bones in association with other objects. The meaning of these animal bones is unclear; Lucy has suggested that in 'Final Phase' cemeteries they are more frequently associated with older individuals (Lucy 1998; 2000), and this was the case at Bamburgh. They may also be indicative of ritual feasting at the graveside, of the kind that was prohibited by the Church in early medieval England (Taylor 2001: 141). In her study of burial in Conversion Period England, Geake (1997) considered animal remains included in graves to be food offerings, symbolic grave furnishings, or the remains of pets and grouped them together with amulets. Interestingly, Bamburgh seems to be unusual in the association between animal bone and males; at other early medieval cemeteries animal bones are more frequently associated with females (Lee 2007).

Individuals with several iron objects, such as knives, buckles, and pins, were placed into Group D. One individual in this group had a set of latch lifters and a 'flint and steel' firelighter set found at the waist, so probably originally in a pouch or pocket. Individuals of both sexes were found with iron artefacts, but the majority of individuals were female. All of the Group D individuals were middle aged or older.

Plate IIb shows the cemetery at the end of the 2005 season. The grave cuts of the skeletons that were examined in this study are colour coded according to their artefact groups. Juveniles were not included in the study, nor were individuals excavated after 2005, and so are not coloured in this figure. There does not seem to have been an association between burial position and other burial practices. From this figure it appears that there was some zoning of artefact groups at Bamburgh, with a cluster of Group B burials in a rough row along the south-western region of the cemetery. The individuals from the other three artefact groups were more evenly distributed across the site.

Age at death seems to have been an important factor for defining burial practices, as shown in Table 8, where the adult individuals have been placed into four age categories. These categories were 'Young adults' (from seventeen to twenty-five years), 'Young/middle-aged adults' (twenty-six to thirty years), 'Middle-aged adults' (thirty-one to forty years), and 'Older adults' (forty-one years or more). One adult could not be assigned a more precise age at death and thus is not included in this table.

Table 8. Percentage of individuals from each age group in each of the artefact groups (the number of individuals is given in brackets): Group A - no artefacts; Group B - single animal bone, tooth, or shells; Group C - multiple animal bones; Group D - multiple iron objects.

	Young	Young/Middle	Middle	Older	Total
Group A	10 (2)	15 (3)	35 (7)	40 (8)	20
Group B	43 (3)	0 (0)	29 (2)	29 (2)	7
Group C	17 (1)	0 (0)	17 (1)	67 (4)	6
Group D	0 (0)	0 (0)	17 (1)	83 (5)	6
Total no.	6	3	11	19	39

Group A, the individuals without artefacts, was the only group to include individuals from all age groups, and Group D consisted entirely of Middle-aged and Older individuals. As has been mentioned above the proportion of individuals over fifty-one years at death was relatively high, so it is not surprising that the percentage of Older individuals appears to be high in all artefact groups. However, the high proportion of Older adults in Groups C and D is striking and suggests that age may be a factor for burial with animal bones or iron objects at Bamburgh. Buckberry (2007) noted a similar increase in burial complexity with age at St Peter's, Barton-on-Humber (Lincs.).

Results

While there were differences in the prevalence of activity-related changes between all the artefact groups, Group C, the burials with deliberately placed animal bones, stood out as being unusual. Group C included only male individuals while all other groups included both males and females, and these individuals showed a pattern of skeletal changes which was distinctive from the other groups, particularly when compared with other males.

Osteoarthritis

Osteoarthritis (OA), as defined by the presence of eburnation and/or morphological changes to the joint surface, was present in thirty individuals, 75 per cent of the sample included in the study. For both the upper and lower limbs, males had an equal or greater average number of joints affected than females, and as expected, in both sexes the increase in OA with age was statistically significant (chi squared,
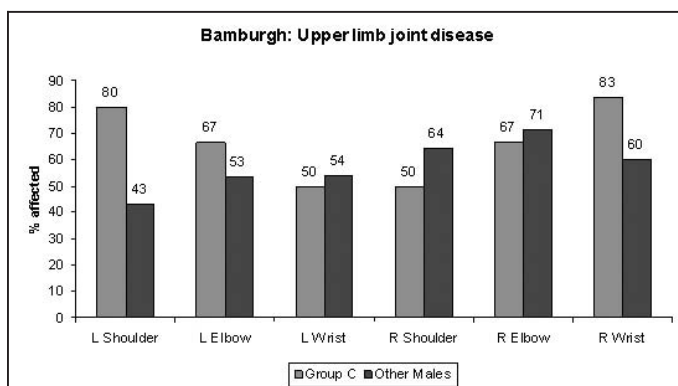
Graph 11. The percentage of upper limb joints from Group C and from all other males that were affected by osteoarthritis or possible osteoarthritis.

females p=0.01, males p=0.01). When compared with all other males, the percentage of left shoulder, left elbow, and right wrist joints with osteoarthritic changes was greater in Group C than in all other males (Graph 11), a pattern which was repeated with an age-matched subsample. The difference between the percentages of left shoulder joints affected was significantly higher in Group C (chi squared p = 0.02). However, the prevalence of changes was higher in the left wrist, right shoulder, and right elbow from all other males than in Group C, but not significantly so. In contrast, Group C was less frequently affected by osteoarthritic changes in the lower limb than the other artefact groups, with no cases of eburnation in the joints of the lower limbs.

Enthesopathies

Enthesopathies are changes to the insertion and attachment sites of muscles, which are likely to be caused by excessive strain or trauma to the muscles (Freemont 2002), and therefore have been used as an indicator of the level of physical stress to the muscles in archaeological populations (Hawkey and Merbs. 1995; Dutour 1986; Peterson 1998; Steen and Lane 1998; Munson Chapman 1997; Churchill and Morris 1998; Eshed and others 2004). The prevalence of enthesopathies increases with age (Benjamin and McGonagle 2001), so when high frequencies of enthesopathies are seen in young individuals this may indicate a more active lifestyle. On average the number of entheses with enthesopathies was higher in males than in females in both the upper and lower limbs, but this difference was not significant when tested with single factor ANOVA tests (upper limb p=0.3,

lower limb p=0.2). Therefore it is reasonable to combine the data for males and females when examining differences between artefact groups. As expected, in both sexes the percentage of enthesopathies increased significantly with age (chi squared p=0.01). The percentage of individuals with enthesopathies in the upper limb was highest in Groups B and C and lowest in Group D, despite the fact that this group predominantly included older individuals. This suggests that a factor other than age was influential upon the development of enthesopathies. There were clear differences in the prevalence of enthesopathies in the upper limb, particularly on the right side. Graphs 12 and 13 show the percentage of enthesopathies from the left and right sides of the upper limbs in each of the artefact groups.

From these figures it is clear that there were differences in the location and frequency of entheses that were affected. Group D had relatively low levels of enthesopathies, while Group C had high levels of changes to the humeral flexors, pronators and supinators, and forearm flexors, particularly on the right side. However, Group C had the lowest prevalence of changes to the clavicle on the right side. These patterns are similar to those seen in males buried with weapons at other early medieval sites (Groves 2006). When compared with all other males, Group C had significantly lower percentages of enthesopathies from both sides of the clavicle than all other males (chi squared: left side p=0.0002, right side p=0.00008), and lower percentages of enthesopathies on the left side in all regions except for the hand flexors and extensors. In the right upper limb, Group C males had significantly higher percentages of humeral flexor and extensor entheses affected than all other males (chi squared p=0.02), and the percentage of changes to the pronator and supinator entheses was also significantly higher in Group C (p=0.005).

Schmorl's Nodes

Schmorl's nodes are depressions in the vertebral surfaces that are thought to develop when the spine suffers from an impact, or as a result of repetitive bending and heavy lifting (Angel 1971). From the total sample of forty individuals, thirty-two individuals had vertebral surfaces that were sufficiently well preserved for Schmorl's nodes to be identified. Males had on average thirty-four surfaces present and an average of eleven Schmorl's nodes. Females had an average of thirty-nine surfaces present, with a slightly lower average of seven Schmorl's nodes per individual. Amongst the males, Schmorl's nodes were most frequent in older individuals (chi squared p=0.01), but there was no significant increase in involvement with age amongst females. The percentage of individuals affected also increased with age. However, when the
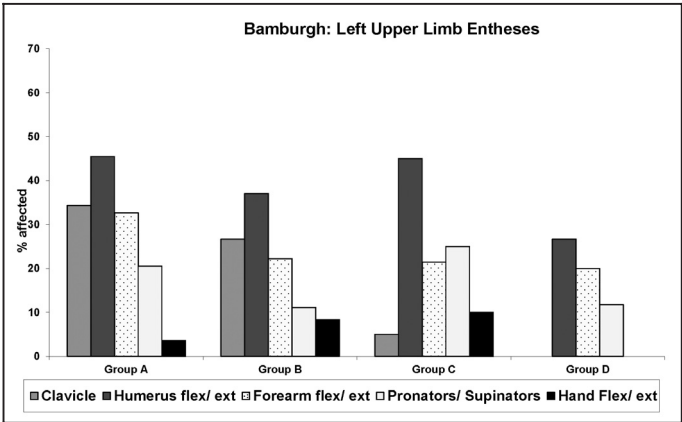
Graph 12. The percentages of enthesopathies in the left side of the
upper limb in each of the artefact groups from Bamburgh.
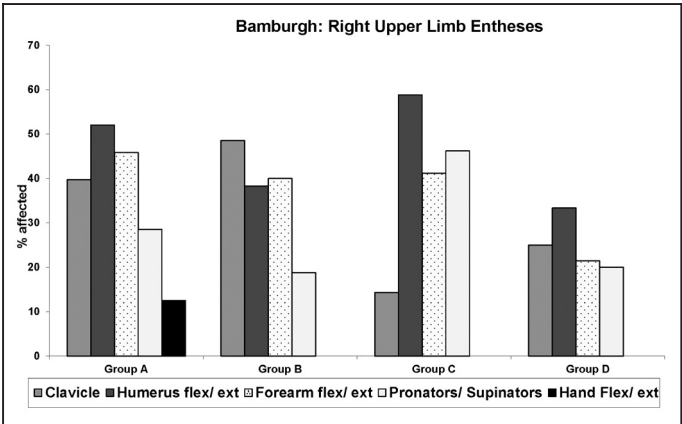
Graph 13. The percentages of enthesopathies in the right side of the
upper limb in each of the artefact groups from Bamburgh.

average number of Schmorl's nodes in each age group was compared, there was no significant variation in the number of surfaces affected (ANOVA p=0.3).

Graph 14 shows the average number of surfaces affected in each artefact group in the whole vertebral column and the thoracic and lumbar vertebrae. The error bars show the standard error of the mean (SEM), which gives an indication of how representative the average is of the whole sample. The large error bars for Group D suggest that the mean for this sample is not very representative of the spread of the data.
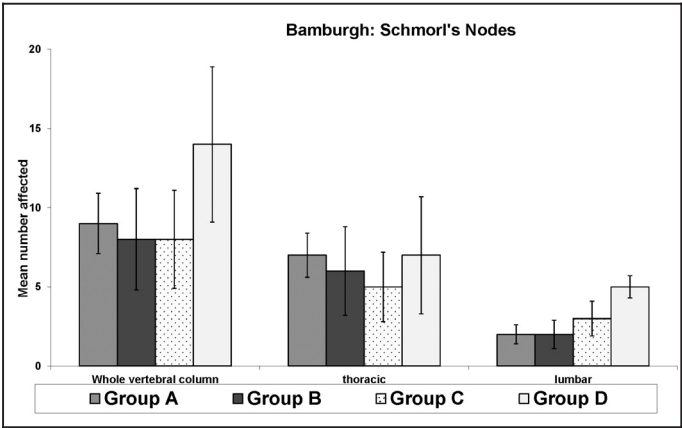
Graph 14. The average number of Schmorl's nodes in each of the artefact groups at Bamburgh. Error bars - +/- SEM.
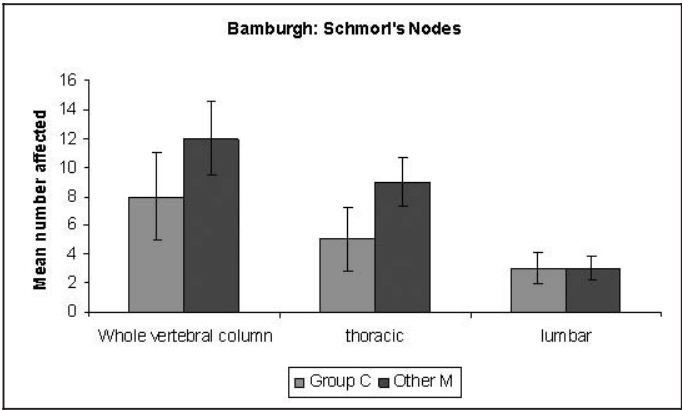
Graph 15. The average number of Schmorl's nodes in Group C and all other males from Bamburgh. Error bars - +/- SEM.

On the whole, the results were similar between Groups A, B, and C, and when Group C was compared with the other males in the samples (Graph 15), the average number of Schmorl's nodes was lower in Group C than in all other males, except in the lumbar vertebrae, suggesting that the stress to the vertebral column may have been less in Group C than that experienced by all other males.

Humeral Asymmetry

During life, bone responds to the actions of the muscles, strengthening and creating new bone where muscle action is greatest (Wolff 1892). Therefore if some individuals are more active and using their muscles more than others the underlying bone should, in theory, be larger than in less active individuals. Most people use one hand in preference over the other, and as a consequence the bones of the dominant side are generally slightly larger than the other (Jones and others 1977).

From the forty individuals examined fourteen pairs of humeri from females and nineteen pairs of humeri from males were measured to examine bilateral asymmetry. The average difference between the circumference of the larger and smaller sides was greater in males (3.6 mm) than in females (2.8 mm) although this difference was not statistically significant (ANOVA p=0.3). Although the degree of asymmetry in older individuals was slightly smaller than that seen in younger individuals, the difference was not significant (ANOVA p=0.3), indicating that the degree of asymmetry in the humerus was not influenced by age.

The paired humeri from Group C males were, on average, more symmetrical than all other males (Graph 16), and the weighted mean asymmetry of the circumference of the humerus was significantly smaller in Group C males than in all other males from Bamburgh (ANOVA p=0.05). This may suggest that the individuals buried with animal bones were undertaking less strenuous activity than other males from the Bowl Hole, or it may mean that they were involved in more activities that required the use of both arms than the other males.

Discussion

The results of this study suggest that there were associations between burial practice and biological identity in the Bowl Hole cemetery. Distinctive burial practices were strongly associated with the sex of the individual, namely the inclusion of animal bones in the burials of males and a less strong association between females and iron objects. The males buried with animal bones also presented a distinctive pattern of MSM that may indicate that they undertook a different pattern of physical activities from their contemporaries.

The patterns of MSM seen in the males buried with animal bone was strikingly similar to the suite of skeletal changes identified by the author in individuals buried with weapons at other cemeteries (Groves 2006). At Castledyke South, North Lincolnshire and Norton Mill Lane, North Yorkshire, males buried with weapons
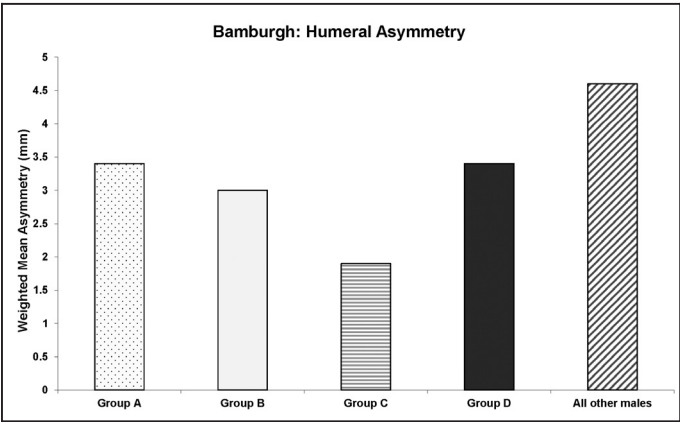
Graph 16. The mean humeral asymmetry in mm in each of the artefact groups, and in non–Group C males.

were more frequently affected by OA and enthesopathies in the upper limb than other males. At Castledyke, as at Bamburgh, the humeri of males with weapons were more symmetrical than other males, but the weapon burials also had a higher frequency of Schmorl's nodes, where these were less frequent at Bamburgh. The strong similarities between the patterns of MSM in these sex-specific burial practice groups at Bamburgh, Castledyke, and to a lesser extent Norton suggest there may have been similarities in the level and type of physical activities that these males undertook during life.

Studies of individuals known to have been involved in warfare have suggested that regular use of weapons or training with weaponry can lead to distinctive changes in the shape and robusticity of the bones of the upper limb (Rhodes and Knüsel 2005). As bone is most responsive to loading during growth (Pearson and Lieberman 2004), and higher levels of activity during development lead to greater bone size and density in adulthood (Khan and others 1998; Ruff and others 1994; Bass and others 1998), the high frequencies of enthesopathies and upper-limb robusticity seen amongst the weapon and animal-bone burials may suggest high levels of physical activity undertaken at a young age.

Training or hunting with weapons may have been sufficient demonstration of a man's ability to perform the role of 'warrior' even if he was not involved in much actual fighting, as Härke's review of weapon injuries suggests (1990; 1992b). Evidence from literary and documentary sources suggests that boys of noble birth began training with wooden weapons from as young as seven and may have been involved in hunting and raiding from around fourteen years (Davidson 1989).

Hunting was an activity reserved for higher-status individuals in early medieval society, but wild game probably provided a substantial proportion of the protein in the diet of all levels of society (Fowler 2002) and is an activity that appeals to many small boys up to the present day. While these activities may not have been actual warfare, the social display of weapon training and hunting may have served a similar purpose of demonstrating strength and bravery and helped to enforce the social identity of the individual.

If the distinctive patterns of MSM seen at Castledyke and Norton Mill Lane are the result of training with weapons from a young age, might it be possible to identify these patterns of changes in males who were not buried with weapons? The changes in social structure and burial practices from the seventh century AD appear to have greatly affected the use of weapons as social articles. Rather than being buried with their owners, weapons may have been passed to the heir or given to the king or church as *heriot*, or to gain or reaffirm social position (Härke 1990; 1992a; 1997a; Geake 1997; Brooks 2000; Lillios 1999; Chadwick 1924; Stenton 1971). Alternatively the significance of weaponry as an indicator of Germanic origins may have declined, to be replaced by other objects and means of displaying identity and affiliation (Geake 1997). Therefore it is possible that some of the men buried without weaponry in later cemeteries held the same social role as the weapon burials from sites like Castledyke and Mill Lane, but are effectively 'invisible' in death.

It is possible that Group C from Bamburgh is one of these groups, with their distinctive burial practices and patterns of MSM. Although it may be too far to stretch the argument that these individuals from Bamburgh are also 'warriors', the possibility is interesting, especially considering that these individuals were almost certainly associated with the royal fortress at Bamburgh and may have been retainers or *ceorls* to the kings. It would be very interesting to examine a larger sample of weapon burials from around the country to see if these patterns of skeletal change are also present.

It is possible that the animal bones included in the seventh- to eighth-century burials from Bamburgh may represent a similar social status as weaponry in fifth- to seventh-century cemeteries. If this is the case, why were animal bones used to represent the status of a socially important, physically active adult male? If hunting was a significant part of the social identity of these men then the animal bones may represent this role, although the fact that the majority of the bones were those of domestic animals, cows and sheep/goats, suggests otherwise. The type of animals included suggests that a link with food and feasting is more likely.

Feasting was an important component in the display of social status in early medieval England and was used to strengthen connections between the lord and his

companions and other subjects (Chadwick 1924; Lee 2007). Perhaps the animal bones included in the male graves at Bamburgh were representative of this social relationship. The many possible meanings of animal bone in early medieval burials have been explored recently by Christina Lee, who argues that these animal bones are a continuation of the practice of gift exchange, symbolizing a 'bond not only among the mourners, but also with the dead themselves. Remains of feasting may be a symbolic reminder of provisions that were once associated with the person buried here, either as donor or recipient' (2007: 2). If the animal bones at Bamburgh are representative of the gift exchanges that the individual took part in during life, this may indicate that the men buried with animal bones were socially important individuals. The patterns of MSM seen in their skeletons also suggest that they were physically active, probably from a young age. Taken together the evidence from burial practice and skeletal analysis indicates that these individuals played an important role in their society, a role which is reflected in the way they were treated in death.

Conclusions

This study has demonstrated that it is possible to identify correlations between the social and biological identities of individuals from the Bowl Hole early medieval cemetery at Bamburgh. Differences in burial practice reflect the age, sex, and level of physical activity of the individual, and together this information helps to create a picture of the identity and social role of the individuals buried at Bamburgh.

By recognizing the importance of animal bones purposefully placed within graves this study has shown that it is possible to identify social stratification within a Conversion Period cemetery. Geake (2002) has argued that the Conversion Period (AD 600–850) marks a change in the way in which male and female status was expressed, with high-status female burials becoming more archaeologically visible, through burial in barrows or with more elaborate grave goods, and high-status male burials apparently disappearing. The inclusion of animal bones as a male-specific, apparently high-status burial practice may indicate a means of identifying some of the 'missing males' in Conversion Period burial grounds. Further studies of MSM as a means to identify variation in levels of physical activity within cemeteries where animal bones are included as grave goods may define whether the association of physically active males with animal bones is a specifically Northumbrian practice or if it was more widespread.

Acknowledgements

References

Alcock, L. 1981. 'Quantity or Quality: The Anglian Graves of Bernicia', in *Angles, Saxons and Jutes: Essays Presented to J. N. L. Myers*, ed. by V. Evison (Oxford: Clarendon Press), 168–83

Angel, J. L. 1971. *The People of Lerna* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution)

Arnold, C. J. 1997. *An Archaeology of the Early Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms* (London: Routledge)

Attenborough, F. L. 1922. *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Bass, S., and others. 1998. 'Exercise Before Puberty May Confer Residual Benefits in Bone Density in Adulthood: Studies in Active Prepubertal and Retired Female Gymnasts', *Journal of Bone Mineral Research*, 13: 500–07

Bateson, E. 1893. *A History of Northumberland*, vol. I: *The Parish of Bamburgh* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Reid)

Benjamin, M., and D. McGonagle. 2001. 'The Anatomical Basis for Disease Localisation in Sero-negative Spondyloarthropathy at Entheses and Related Sites', *Journal of Anatomy*, 199: 503–26

Brickley, M., and J. I. McKinley (eds). 2004. *Guidelines to the Standards for Recording Human Remains* (Southampton: British Association for Biological Anthropology and Osteoarchaeology and Institute of Field Archaeologists)

Bridges, P. S. 1989. 'Changes in Activities with the Shift to Agriculture in the Southeastern United States', *Current Anthropology*, 30: 385–94

———. 1991. 'Degenerative Joint Disease in Hunter-Gatherers and Agriculturalists from the Southeastern United States', *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 85: 379–91

Brooks, N. 2000. 'Arms, Status and Warfare in Late-Saxon England', in *Communities and Warfare 700–1400*, ed. by N. Brooks (London: Hambledon), 138–61

BRP (Bamburgh Research Project). 1998. *Bowl Hole Long Cist Cemetery, 1998 Excavation Report* (Northumberland County Council, Desktop Publication by the Bamburgh Research Project)

———. 2004. '156: Bamburgh Castle: Medieval Britain and Ireland in 2003', *Medieval Archaeology*, 48: 281–82

———. 2005. '241: Bamburgh Castle and Village; Medieval Britain and Ireland in 2004', *Medieval Archaeology*, 49: 396

Buckberry, J. 2007. 'On Sacred Ground: Social Identity and Churchyard Burial in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire c. 700–1100 AD', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 14: 117–29

Carver, M. O. H. 2004. 'An Iona of the East: The Early-Medieval Monastery at Portmahomac, Tarbat Ness', *Medieval Archaeology*, 48: 1–30

Chadwick, H. M. 1924. *The Origin of the English Nation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Churchill, S. E., and A. G. Morris. 1998. 'Muscle Marking Morphology and Labour Intensity in Prehistoric Khoisan Foragers', *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, 8: 390–411

Crawford, S. 2004. 'Votive Deposition, Religion and the Anglo-Saxon Furnished Burial Ritual', *World Archaeology*, 36: 87–102

Davidson, H. E. 1989. 'The Training of Warriors', in *Weapons and Warfare in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by S. C. Hawkes (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology), 11–23

Dutour, O. 1986. 'Enthesopathies (Lesions of Muscular Insertions) as Indicators of the Activities of Neolithic Saharan Populations', *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 71: 221–24

Eshed, V., and others. 2004. 'Musculoskeletal Stress Markers in Natufian Hunter-Gatherers and Neolithic Farmers in the Levant: The Upper Limb', *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 123: 303–15

Fowler, P. 2002. *Farming in the First Millennium AD: British Agriculture Between Julius Caesar and William the Conqueror* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Freemont, A. J. 2002. 'Enthesopathies', *Current Diagnostic Pathology*, 8: 1–10

Geake, H. 1997. *The Use of Grave-Goods in Conversion-Period England, c.600–c.850*, BAR British Series, 261 (Oxford: Archaeopress)

———. 2002. 'Persistent Problems in the Study of Conversion-Period Burials in England', in *Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales*, ed. by S. Lucy and A. Reynolds (Leeds: Society for Medieval Archaeology), 144–55

Gowland, R. L. 2002. 'Age as an Aspect of Social Identity in Fourth- to Sixth-Century AD England; The Archaeological Funerary Evidence' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Durham)

———. 2007. 'Beyond Ethnicity: Symbols of Social Identity from the Fourth to Sixth Centuries in England', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 14: 56–65

Groves, S. E. 2001. 'Bilateral Asymmetry of the Upper Limb in a Skeletal Population from Hanging Ditch, Manchester' (unpublished masters project, University of Durham)

———. 2006. 'Swords or Ploughshares: Multiple Indicators of Activity Related Stress and Social Status in Four Early Medieval Populations from the North East of England' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Durham)

———. Forthcoming. 'The Bowl Hole Burial Ground, a Late Anglian Cemetery in Northumberland', in *Later Anglo-Saxon Burial, c.650 to 1100AD*, ed. by J. Buckberry and A. Cherryson (Oxford: Oxbow)

Hadley, D. M. 2002. 'Burial Practices in Northern England in the Later Anglo-Saxon Period', in *Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales*, ed. by S. Lucy and A. Reynolds (London: Society for Medieval Archaeology), 209–28

Halsall, G. 1995. *Early Medieval Cemeteries: An Introduction to Burial Archaeology in the Post-Roman West* (Glasgow: Cruithne)

Härke, H. 1989a. 'Early Saxon Weapon Burials: Frequencies, Distributions and Weapon Combinations', in *Weapons and Warfare in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by S. C. Hawkes (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology), 49–61

———. 1989b. 'Knives in Early Saxon Burials: Blade Length and Age at Death', *Medieval Archaeology*, 33: 144–48

———. 1990. '"Warrior Graves"? The Background of the Anglo-Saxon Weapon Burial Rite', *Past and Present*, 126: 22–43

———. 1992a. 'Changing Symbols in a Changing Society: The Anglo-Saxon Weapon Burial Rite in the Seventh Century', in *The Age of Sutton Hoo: The Seventh Century in North-Western Europe*, ed. by M. O. H. Carver (Woodbridge: Boydell), 149–65

———. 1992b. *Anglesachsische Waffengraber des 5.bis 7. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne: Rheinland)

———. 1997a. 'Early Anglo-Saxon Social Structure', in *The Anglo-Saxons from the Migration Period to the Eighth Century: An Ethnographic Perspective*, ed. by J. Hines (Woodbridge: Boydell), 125–70

———. 1997b. 'The Nature of Burial Data', in *Burial and Society*, ed. by C. Kjeid Jensen and K. Høilund Nielsen (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press), 19–27

Hawkey, D. E., and C. F. Merbs. 1995. 'Activity-Induced Musculoskeletal Stress Markers (MSM) and Subsistence Strategy Changes among Ancient Hudson Bay Eskimos', *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, 5: 324–38

Henshall, A. S. 1956. 'A Long Cist Cemetery at Parkburn Sand Pit, Lasswade, Midlothian', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 89: 252–83

———. 1966. 'Second Report of Cist Burials at Parkburn Sand-Pit, Lasswade, Midlothian', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 98: 204–14

Higham, N. 1986. *The Northern Counties to AD 1000* (London: Longman)

———. 1993. *The Kingdom of Northumbria: AD 350–1100* (Stroud: Sutton)

Hill, P. 1997. *Whithorn and St. Ninian: The Excavation of a Monastic Town, 1984–91* (Stroud: Sutton)

Hillson, S. 1996. *Dental Anthropology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Hope-Taylor, B. 1962. 'Excavation Committee Report', *University of Durham Gazette*, n.s., 9: 5–7

Jones, H. H., J. D. Priest, W. C. Hayes, C. Chinn Tichenor, and D. A. Nagel. 1977. 'Humeral Hypertrophy in Response to Exercise', *Journal of Bone and Joint Surgery*, 59A: 204–08

Kennedy, K. A. R. 1989. 'Skeletal Markers of Occupational Stress', in *Reconstruction of Life from the Skeleton*, ed. by M. Y. Iscan and K. Kennedy (New York: Liss), 129–60

Khan, K. M., and others. 1998. 'Self-Reported Ballet Classes Undertaken at Age 10–12 Years and Hip Bone Mineral Density in Later Life', *Osteoporosis International*, 8: 165–73

Lai, P., and N. C. Lovell. 1992. 'Skeletal Markers of Occupational Stress in the Fur Trade: A Case Study from a Hudson's Bay Company Fur Trade Post', *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, 2: 221–34

Lee, C. 2007. *Feasting the Dead: Food and Drink in Anglo-Saxon Burial Rituals* (Woodbridge: Boydell)

Lillios, K. T. 1999. 'Objects of Memory: The Ethnography and Archaeology of Heirlooms', *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, 6: 235–62

Lucy, S. J. 1998. *The Early Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries of East Yorkshire: An Analysis and Reinterpretation*, BAR British Series, 272 (Oxford: Archaeopress)

———. 2000. *The Anglo-Saxon Way of Death* (Stroud: Sutton)

———. 2002b. 'From Pots to People: Two Hundred Years of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology', in *'Lastworda Betst': Essays in Memory of Christine E. Fell, with her Unpublished Writings*, ed. by C. Hough and K. A. Lowe (Donington: Tyas), 144–69

Munson Chapman, N. E. 1997. 'Evidence for Spanish Influence on Activity Induced Musculoskeletal Stress Markers at Pecos Pueblo', *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, 7: 497–506

NHS Information Centre (2005). *Health Survey for England 2004. Updating of Trend Tables to include 2004 Data*, publication of the Department of Health and Health and Social Care Information Centre, <http://www.ic.nhs.uk/statistics-and-data-collections/health-and-lifestyles-related-surveys/health-survey-for-england/health-survey-for-england-2004-updating-of-trend-tables-to-include-2004-data> [accessed 2 August 2011]

Pearson, O. M., and D. E. Lieberman. 2004. 'The Ageing of Wolff's "Law": Ontogeny and Responses to Mechanical Loading', *Yearbook of Physical Anthropology*, 47: 63–99

Peebles, C. S., and S. M. Kus. 1977. 'Some Archaeological Correlates of Ranked Societies', *American Antiquity*, 42: 421–48

Peterson, J. 1998. 'The Natufian Hunting Conundrum: Spears, Atlatls, or Bows? Musculoskeletal and Armature Evidence', *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, 8: 378–89

Rhodes, J. A., and C. Knüsel. 2005. 'Activity-Related Skeletal Change in Medieval Humeri: Cross-Sectional and Architectural Alterations', *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 123: 536–46

Roberts, C., and M. Cox. 2003. *Health and Disease in Britain: From Prehistory to the Present Day* (Stroud: Sutton)

Roberts, C., and K. Manchester. 1995. *The Archaeology of Disease* (Stroud: Sutton)

Rogers, J., and T. Waldron. 1995. *A Field Guide to Joint Diseases in Archaeology* (New York: Wiley)

Ronchese, F. 1948. *Occupational Marks and Other Physical Signs: A Guide to Personal Identification* (New York: Grune and Stratton)

Ruff, C. B., and others. 1994. 'Postcranial Robusticity in Homo. III: Ontogeny' *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 93: 35–54

Schmitt, D., and others. 2003. 'Experimental Evidence Concerning Spear Use in Neandertals and Early Modern Humans', *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 30: 103–14

Sherlock, S. J., and M. G. Welch. 1992. *An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Norton, Cleveland* (London: Council for British Archaeology)

Steckel, R. H., and others. 2005. *Data Collection Codebook*, Global History of Health Project, <http://global.sbs.ohio-state.edu/new_docs/Codebook-06–28–06.pdf> [accessed 26 August 2008]

Steen, S. L., and R. W. Lane. 1998. 'Evaluation of Habitual Activities among Two Alaskan Eskimo Populations Based on Musculoskeletal Stress Markers', *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, 8: 341–53

Stenton, F. M. 1971. *Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press)

Stirland, A. J. 2000. *Raising the Dead: The Skeleton Crew of King Henry VIII's Great Ship, the Mary Rose* (Chichester: Wiley)

Stoodley, N. 1999. *The Spindle and the Spear: A Critical Enquiry into the Construction and Meaning of Gender in the Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Rite*, BAR British Series, 288 (Oxford: Archaeopress)

———. 2000. 'From the Cradle to the Grave: Age Organization and the Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Rite', *World Archaeology*, 31: 456–72

Taylor, A. 2001. *Burial Practice in Early England* (Stroud: Tempus)

Wolff, J. 1892. *The Law of Bone Remodelling* (Berlin: Springer)

Wood, P. N. 2003. 'Excavation in the Bowl Hole Graveyard, Bamburgh: Summary of 2003 Results', Bamburgh Research Project, unpublished interim report

———. 2005. 'Geophysical Survey at Bamburgh Castle, Northumberland', *Medieval Archaeology*, 49: 305–10

Young, G. 2003. *Bamburgh Castle: The Archaeology of the Fortress of Bamburgh AD 500 to AD 1500* (Alnwick: Bamburgh Research Project)

'Excavating' Northumbrian Manuscripts: Reappraising Regionalism in Insular Manuscript Production

Michelle P. Brown

We may not yet have benefited from the archaeological discovery of a Northumbrian Oxyrhynchus — a cache of formerly unknown manuscripts that will bring new material into play and allow us to rethink the role of the book in Insular society. But who knows; if Martin Carver and his successors keep digging long enough at Tarbat we may yet be presented with a Pictish Vindolanda, as well as 'the Pictish Sutton Hoo'. He and his team have already retrieved materials which may have been used in manuscript production on the site — pebble weights thought to have formed part of a frame for stretching animal skins, perhaps during the manufacture of vellum or parchment, lunular knives used to scrape the skins without puncturing them, and styli used for pricking and ruling pages prior to writing and for drafting text and image upon wax tablets (Brown 1994; Carver 2004). Unlike the High Middle Ages, we are not dealing with a specialized urban market in which parchmenters, tablet-makers, and other trades supplied scriveners and illuminators with the tools of their trade, for local or remote use. The likelihood is that, as with the writing materials found during excavation — styli at Jarrow, Whitby, Flixborough, Brandon, and Barking, and a pair of wax tablets with bone covers decorated with interlace from Blythburgh — they were made and used in the actual scriptoria of those very monasteries, which would also have functioned as production and distribution centres, both for materials and for finished books (Carver and Spall 2004; Loveluck 2007; Webster and Backhouse 1991: nos 105d, 107c–e, 69v–w, 66r–t, and 67i–k).

It is possible that archaeologists may yet discover unknown manuscripts. One of the earliest examples of writing from Ireland, the Springmount Bog Tablets

(Dublin, National Museum of Ireland) found in Co. Antrim, consists of a set of wax tablets upon which, around 600, a series of extracts from the Psalms were in-scribed, perhaps by a trainee priest intent upon memorizing the whole of the Psalter in order to become 'psalteratus' (Lowe 1934–72: suppl., 1684; Brown 1994). Several early monastic rules recommended study of the Psalms during 'time out', such as travel, but presumably did not intend their recipients to become so engrossed in the task that they tumbled into a peat bog, sacrificing their precious 'palm tops' to the water-sprites of the bog — favourable though that anaerobic environment was to the preservation of such organic materials and their discovery by later generations. Their recovery occurred by chance, during peat cutting, an activity which has also recently revealed fragments of an Irish Latin Psalter of probable late eighth-century date in Faddan Moor, Co. Tipperary (Meehan 2006). Exciting though this is, the badly eroded remains and the attendant problems of conserving the traces of decoration, with its disappearing red, yellow, and white pigments, mean that the find is in fact likely to add little to our knowledge of books from early Christian Ireland. The script is a half-uncial of the sort to be expected in Irish liturgical manuscripts of the period. The text is apparently the Gallicanum (this and Jerome's Romanum version of the Psalms both being attested in early Ireland); and the state of preservation of what little remains of its binding does not permit an answer to a question of real import to assessing the nature of the apparent links between Ireland and the churches of the Christian Orient: was it bound in the usual western fashion, on supports, or in unsupported 'Coptic' fashion, like the St Cuthbert Gospel (Bernard Meehan pers. comm.)? Archaeo-logical excavation, on the other hand, led to the recovery of an important late eighth-century Irish book shrine, or *cumdach*, from the depths of Lough Kinale, Co. Longford, wherein it had been cast by a disgruntled Viking who in the ninth century despoiled the crannóg where it resided and rent asunder the intriguing metalwork box, adorned with the cross of the Christians, only to find that it contained merely an old book (Dublin, National Museum of Ireland, 1986: 141; Kelly 1994). That manuscript — from the dimensions of the box probably a gos-pelbook — did not survive. But its like may yet be found, with its codex happily intact inside; after all, the medieval cult of St Columba boasted some two hundred books that survived trial by drowning, unharmed by water, as proof of sanctity.

Another example of an enshrined book which was found intact — this time in Northumbria — is the St Cuthbert Gospel (formerly known as the Stonyhurst Gospel; London, British Library, Loan MS 74; Brown 1969; Brown 2000), a diminutive and exquisite copy of St John's Gospel. This was penned in uncials at Monkwearmouth/Jarrow in the late seventh century and bound using techniques

of unsupported sewing and tooled decoration on its covers that find their closest parallels in early Christian Middle Eastern bindings. It was found in the coffin of St Cuthbert at the dedication of Durham Cathedral in 1104, having perhaps been placed therein at the time of the translation of Cuthbert's relics to the high altar of Lindisfarne in 698. When a triumphant Bishop Ranulf Flambard of Durham reached into St Cuthbert's coffin during the ceremony in 1104 he brandished the book as a sign of the enduring incorruptibility of the saint's remains with which it was interred — like the Book of the Dead in an ancient Egyptian sarcophagus. The volume is remarkably well preserved, not only thanks to the endeavours of successive generations of guardians and librarians but, as the medievals believed, because of its sanctity by association with Cuthbert himself. This book, along with the other relics retrieved from Cuthbert's coffin, bears eloquent testimony to the perpetuation of the practice of burying treasured or symbolic belongings with the beloved and honoured in a post-pagan Christian culture. This might well lead us to question some traditional archaeological assumptions concerning the presence of artefacts bearing imagery of possible Christian significance in some migration-period burials which are deemed pagan by virtue of the very presence of grave goods.

Other fragments of manuscripts may already have been excavated, but escaped recognition. Some twenty years ago, when I was then Curator of Illuminated Manuscripts in the Department of Western Manuscripts, British Library, excavators in Gloucester brought me for opinion at the British Library some small fragments of what they initially thought was horn. These turned out to be brittle, transparent, celluloid-like pieces of an early thirteenth-century service-book from Llanthony Priory, still adorned with barely visible ink letters and ornament in red featuring determinedly conservative strands of Insular interlace ornament. The identification of such fragmentary organic remains during post-excavation treatment is not easy.

Nonetheless, more fruitful excavations are to be had within the recesses of library and archive shelves, in still intact monasteries (such as St Catherine's, Sinai, a significant proportion of the library of which was discovered in a forgotten room in the late twentieth century), or vast national collections. Some British Library staff still fondly recall the day when the custodian of a National Trust property walked into the reading room with an estate document wrapper that he presented for opinion. This large, if battered, leaf (the Bankes Leaf from Kingston Lacy, Dorset) turned out to be from one of the Ceolfrith Bibles that the famed Abbot of Monkwearmouth/Jarrow commissioned before he departed to retire in Rome in 716, taking one of them — the Codex Amiatinus — as a gift for the Pope and as an ambassador for the English. Ceolfrith left the other two pandects for his twin

monasteries, and it was from one of these that the National Trust leaf had survived. The 'Making of England' exhibition, staged by the British Museum and British Library in 1991, reunited it with the other leaves (the Middleton Leaves) from the same volume and those found in a Newcastle antique shop by Canon Greenwell of Durham, along with companion leaves also found in the Wollaton Hall muniments which carried late Anglo-Saxon charters relating to Worcester. The Bankes Leaf (London, British Library, Loan MS 81) and the Middleton Leaves (London, British Library, Additional MS 45025) were reused as wrappers for estate papers relating to properties associated with Wollaton Hall, Notts., held by Lord Middleton and, formerly, by Sir Francis Willoughby. The Greenwell Leaf (London, British Library, Additional MS 37777) also served as a book wrapper (Webster and Backhouse 1991: no. 87a–c). The written space dimensions and unusual bicolumnar layout of the latter suggested that these charters had been designed expressly for inclusion in the earlier Bible and that it was none other than Worcester's great 'book of the high altar', a giant Bible presented in the late eighth century by King Offa, into which Worcester's key legal transactions were copied. Even during Offa's time this imposing book was believed to have been made in Rome, rather like the Codex Amiatinus itself which is so ostensibly romanizing in style that it was not recognized as the work of English hands until the identification was made in 1888 by G. B. de Rossi. It was, however, as we shall see, an innovative product of Insular scholarship and editorial skills, made possible by the remarkable library assembled at Monkwearmouth/Jarrow by Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrith and by the intellectual environment that produced Bede.

Such discoveries of new material may be at a premium, but fresh findings are also to be had by cultivating new ways of ploughing well-trodden ground. There are different technologies and methodologies to be applied, but, even more importantly, different questions to be asked by our own and future generations as part of the iterative process of scholarship and its effective communication to wider audiences.

It is over sixty years since Dain first coined the phrase 'l'archéologie du livre' and the enterprising young Belgian scholar Jean Delaissé combined it with Montfaucon's methodology for the study of the physical structure of Greek manuscripts to form the new discipline of 'Codicologie' (de Montfaucon 1708; Dain 1975; Delaissé 1977). I should like to consider, briefly, how careful material excavation of the strata of information contained within putative Northumbrian codices can offer complementary perspectives, and challenges, to traditional considerations of textuality and style and, likewise, to a late twentieth-century style approach that is tantamount to a 'new archaeology' of the book. The latter has imposed a model which perpetuates a magnet theory whereby the handful of surviving works —

some 5 per cent of what we know from other sources once circulated — are inexorably attracted to polarized production centres, distinguished either by their 'romanitas', in the case of Monkwearmouth/Jarrow and Canterbury, or their 'Hiberno-Saxon' trends, in the case of Lindisfarne and Iona (Dodwell 1982).

If we were to draw a distribution map of 'firmly' located extant English books of the pre-Alfredian era it might well only have six places on it: Monkwearmouth, Jarrow, Lindisfarne, Lichfield, Canterbury, and Inkberrow; some may even challenge these (Dumville 1999). Charters expand the number of centres producing writing of which examples survive to perhaps include St Paul's Cathedral in London, Barking, Reculver, Worcester, and either Sherborne or Winchester; and Winchcombe, as repository for the Mercian royal archives, may be thought to have generated records itself (Sanders 1878–84; Sawyer 1968). We know from written sources that there were many other production centres, such as Abbess Eadburh's scriptorium at Minster-in-Thanet whose nuns supplied books to Boniface's mission and who, following the example of their Merovingian counterparts, might also have supplied some leading English churches (Brown 2001). Other, exported, books survive from Insular foundations on the Continent, such as Echternach and Fulda. However, it is salutary to recall that, of a library of over 2500 volumes ascribed by Alcuin to York, none are known to have survived. The temptation to assign floating manuscripts to this important centre is great, and this has often been attempted. York has become a convenient attribution centre for anything that combines Northumbrian and Southumbrian features, or that has a feel of the Roman but cannot be positively attributed to Monkwearmouth/Jarrow or Canterbury. York's elusive early scriptorium is a magnet with plenty of pull, but with nothing sticking (Brown 2003a).

Returning to considerations of style, as we have already noted, a purely stylistic approach led commentators to accept the Codex Amiatinus as the work of classicizing Italo-Byzantine artist-scribes, until in the 1880s de Rossi (1888) first advanced the radical proposal that it was an English book. Likewise, the first author to express an opinion on the style of the Lindisfarne Gospels, Strutt, could write in his *Compleat View of the Manners, Customs, Arms, Habits etc. of the Inhabitants of England* that 'in these rude and ancient delineations we find no great idea of grace, nor the least mark of genius [...] yet, on the whole, these designs are not absolutely devoid of merit, especially if they are considered [...] as the first dawning of the art amongst our Saxon sires' (1775–76: 26–27). Yet, by virtue of a great deal of painstaking, detailed research by a wide range of scholars, we are now able to see beyond the tyranny of assumptions of an innate cultural supremacy of classicism and of barbaric naivety and technical ineptitude to perceive these remarkable books in

their true guise as symbiotic embodiments of the complex synthesized culture of early Anglo-Saxon England. Ceolfrith never made it back to Rome to die amidst the relics of the saints, but his diplomatic gift to the Pope did and elicited a letter of thanks to his successor, Abbot Hwaetberht, acknowledging the Wearmouth/Jarrow community, by virtue of its visible adherence to Rome and welcoming it in effect into the *comitatus* of St Peter, with all the ecclesiastical, political, and diplomatic advantages that this privileged status entailed (Brown 2000; Wood 1995).

Yet the Codex Amiatinus is no mere antiquarian feat of facsimilizing one or another of the biblical editions of the post-Roman senator turned monk, Cassiodorus, as has often been suggested (Henderson 1993). Detailed excavation of the many biblical books enshrined within this amazing single-volume pandect show that it was the result of one of the greatest programmes of biblical study and editing of the Middle Ages (Brown 2006). This endeavour was probably led by Bede, who would himself have served as one of its scribes. This in itself reveals a great deal about Northumbrian approaches to the writing of books. It was extremely rare, throughout the Middle Ages, for authors to write themselves; dictation was the norm. The mechanical act of scribal copying was not, in this context, the same as being what Bede terms a 'scribe'. Here he is placing himself in direct line of descent from Ezra the scribe, who is credited with retrieving the destroyed Hebrew scriptures from memory and whose image presides over the Codex Amiatinus in resplendent painterly Antique Roman style (Brown 2003b: 359–64; O'Reilly 2001).

The Lindisfarne Gospels does something similar, but subtly different. The compositional debt of its Matthew miniature to the Amiatinus Ezra has long been recognized. Metaphorical 3D glasses have been worn to reappraise its two-dimensional figural style, revealing its indebtedness to Mediterranean books and leading Micheli to describe it as 'an Italian Gospelbook in disguise' (1999: 345). Textually this is indeed the case (although the canon tables and apparatus represent local additions), but to see it in this guise alone is perhaps to mistake its maker's intention. For again, Lindisfarne is no mere copy of any one work, nor an amalgam of influences, textual and stylistic, which have been assembled from diverse sources and subtly synthesized (Brown 2003b). Its Vulgate text was essentially copied from a sixth-century Neapolitan Gospelbook, the listing of its local saints' days preserved in order to vouch for its genealogical credentials as an authoritative text from an important Christian centre, whence that great educator, the North African Abbot Hadrian of Canterbury, had served. That exemplar formed part of the Monkwearmouth/Jarrow library, one of the greatest of its time. One copy of the Cosmographers which it contained equalling the value of one nineteenth of the total property holding of Monkwearmouth/Jarrow in 716, its books were by far its most

valuable asset (Brown 2000). The Neapolitan gospelbook, or more probably a Monkwearmouth/Jarrow copy of it (Meyvaert 2005), came to Holy Island on an early form of interlibrary loan, probably as a result of the collaboration between Bede and Bishop Eadfrith of Lindisfarne, who probably wrote and illuminated the Lindisfarne Gospels around 710–21 (Brown 2003b: 155–71, 395–409). Together they reframed the cult of St Cuthbert to promote an eirenic programme of ecumenical integration of the varied traditions that met in the border-zone of Northumbria: Roman, Irish, British, Pictish, Byzantine, and Coptic — the Taizé or Iona movement of its day.

The Lindisfarne Gospels bears witness in its intellectualized cultural synthesis to a relationship not only to Rome but to an ecumen that stretched from the deserts of the Holy Land to the watery wildernesses of the Atlantic and of the North Sea in which Holy Island lay. It is a textual statement of catholic orthodoxy and a visual compendium of the rich cultural participation within the universal Christian communion of the contributions of the various peoples of Britain and Ireland, who were newly reconciled in common religious observance, even Iona having recently conformed to the Roman dating of Easter. As such, it would have contrasted in appearance, approach, and intent with the gospelbook that formed a focal point at the rival shrine of St Wilfrid at Ripon: a purple codex penned in gold that was probably brought back as a prize from one of his trips to Rome — an overt visual statement of romanitas (Brown 2003b: 277, 289).

Our Neapolitan Gospelbook may not remain, but echoes of it reverberate in the Monkwearmouth/Jarrow and Lindisfarne responses and in other later eighth-century books perhaps from Northumbria, or from greater Mercia, which copied its text of the Gospels (but not the rest of the textual apparatus): London, British Library, Royal MS 1.B.vii and the St Petersburg Gospels (St Petersburg, State Library, Cod. F.v.I.8; Alexander 1978: no.16 (Royal 1.B.vii is no. 20)). From these is it possible to ascertain the following: that the Neapolitian Gospelbook was much smaller; that its script was uncial, a different 'font size' to its copies; and that it was undecorated, lacking evangelist miniatures, carpet pages, decorative incipits, and canon tables. You had to really want to make the Lindisfarne Gospels look the way it does to undertake the complex task of rescoping the layout of the text to accommodate a different script size and the programme of illumination.

A detailed examination of the manuscript, conducted with the aid of illuminated-microscope, raking-light, and non-destructive Raman laser-pigment analysis — processes reminiscent of archaeological post-excavation work — has helped to cast new light upon how, and why, this remarkable manuscript was made (Brown 2003: 275–98, 430–51). Consider how you make a book such as this. First catch

your cow, or rather catch 130, or rather catch ten times that number, because you have espoused a concept of sacred codicology which means that the book has to be as physically perfect as possible in the eyes of the Lord as well as textually accurate and aesthetically pleasing. Nearly every sheet of vellum will be flawed, almost every parasite that bites a cow in the field leaving a scar that will open up to form a hole when the skin is stretched. All manuscripts have them aplenty: the Lindisfarne Gospels has only four, three of which are carefully concealed in the spine edge. An awful lot of gifts of hides must have been contributed to the project from those wishing to be associated — like sponsoring a commemorative brick or a tile today. Vellum cockles, unless kept in accordance with British Standards environmental recommendations, and the only thing holding those jewel-like colours on the page is beaten egg-white. The surface moves, the egg-white cracks, the pigments flake off. To minimize this risk, the maker of the book aligned each skin so that the spine ridge ran across the bifolia at the same point, producing only one cocklure ridge. This would, again, have necessitated the rejection of many skins, and this is the only book in which I have ever encountered the phenomenon.

Once the sheets of vellum were cut to size and ruled, a bifolium would be ready to write upon, but it would eventually be layered with three others and folded to produce a quire of eight leaves, so the scribe was seldom writing contiguous text, but more likely pages two and seven, for example, entailing the need to impose the text like a printer and calculate how many words to the line and lines to the page before he or she began. Complicate this process by altering the size of the page and the script, so that you cannot map over the layout of your model, and then make matters even more difficult by adding in major and minor initials, *litterae notabiliores* to clarify sense and *sententia*, and full-page decoration and you have really made life difficult for yourself. Nothing in such a plan — expensive in terms of both manpower and materials — is incidental or capricious, especially when it is as carefully and prayerfully undertaken as the Lindisfarne Gospels.

How would you plan such a work, physically, let alone intellectually and artistically? Your drafting mechanisms consisted of motif-pieces — scraps of vellum, wood, stone, or slate — or wax tablets. Could you design the Lindisfarne Gospels on these? I could not, and neither could their maker. His vision was an ambitious one — his miniatures were conceived as symbolic sacred *figurae*, obliquely depicting the Divine and thereby avoiding implications of the hotly debated idolatry that had recently plunged Byzantium into iconoclasm. His minor decoration articulates the text, building a conflated system of lections from the liturgies of the Columban tradition, of Aquileia, Naples, and Rome — including some up-to-the-minute ones only officially adopted in 'the eternal city' by the papacy during the

second decade of the eighth century for the commemoration of Good Friday (Brown 2003b: 188–91, 319–21).

In order to achieve this complex layout, the Lindisfarne Gospels' maker introduced what appear to be technological innovations. He developed the use of the lead-point, precursor of the pencil, some three hundred years before it was commonly employed in Europe — you can see the point in the ruling process where he discovered that his metal stylus, which must have contained lead or silver, left a graphic mark as well as a furrow. The hand pressure henceforth eases up and he explores its potential as a flexible design tool.

This allows him, along with other implements such as the compass, to design complex patterns conceived in accordance with principles of divine geometry — what Bede and his like viewed as a key to God's master-plan for Creation — the 'Theory of Everything', incorporating the 'why' as well as the 'how'. His designs, not just for the carpet pages but for every decorative component in the book, are executed in lead-point, not on the surface to be painted, but on its back. For, like every traditional cartoon-animator, he knew that the minute you laid down the first thick layer of pigment, all that intricate draughtsmanship would be lost. And so he invented the light box. Cennino Cennini used a similar technique in Renaissance Florence: glass or horn support surface, with many candles behind it and one candle at the artist's shoulder, or a big window behind it and a smaller one at the artist's back, equals light box. Such backlighting permits the lead design to be seen in general during painting, and also allows the sheet to be turned over to examine the fine detail, the back of the leaf becoming in effect the motif-piece.

The innovation did not stop here. Earlier books from a Columban milieu, such as the Book of Durrow, like those of Coptic Egypt and Merovingian Gaul, favoured a tricolour of red, green, and yellow, which trigger a chemical chain-reaction that turns the page into lace curtains. In the Lindisfarne Gospels this effect is stabilized and the palette is extended to produce some ninety colours and tints, which Photoshop struggles to reproduce and which more than rivals that of the Mediterranean with its trade routes.

As part of my study, we undertook a non-destructive Raman laser-pigment analysis to examine the Lindisfarne Gospels, a range of other Anglo-Saxon and Celtic books, and a Continental control group (Brown 2003b: 275–98, 430–51). This entailed shining a narrow, cold laser beam onto the painted surface, without removing any samples. This caused a couple of microns to vibrate and transmit a wavelength to the computer which generated a chart which was a unique fingerprint for the material in question. This was then compared to a database of all known chemical substances. This allowed us to determine that the Lindisfarne

Gospels' pigments were made from six locally available lumps of rock or plants, the chemical propensities of which their maker had full mastery. This was the work of someone well attuned to their environment. The blue that Roosen-Runge identified as lapis lazuli in the commentary volume accompanying the 1956–60 facsimile is a fallacy, alas; but what is even more fascinating is that our artist knew of its existence, couldn't get hold of it, and so faked it, boiling up woad and suspending within the dye particles of hoof and horn gum, to give the surface granulation of ground lapis. He also knew that an organic dye from *crozophora tinctoria* (turnsole) or orchil could yield a range of forty or so shades of purple, depending on how much acidity or alkalinity was introduced — stale urine (still used as a mordant in the Harris tweed industry today) giving a rich ruby red. The use of Tyrian purple (a mollusc extract) is also a bit of a myth where Insular manuscripts are concerned, despite Bede's reference to the colour propensities of whelks, for all the books tested, including some Byzantine ones, likewise used a plant dye.

Other intriguing technical observations concerning the Lindisfarne Gospels include its evangelist miniatures, which are set like framed panel paintings or icons on the page. Their strange pink backgrounds have been polished, like burnished gold, with a dog's tooth or agate, giving them a wax-like surface. This was probably intended to emulate the encaustic wax painting of eastern icons (Brown 2003b: 284–86).

Why were the technical innovations used in the manufacture of the Lindisfarne Gospel limited in their impact? Well, innovation was not perceived, per se, to be a good thing during the Middle Ages — like the law of precedence it was seen to proceed from tradition. The Leonardo-moment of inspiration that the Lindisfarne Gospels represents was born of one person conceiving, thinking, and making the vision. For this, one of the most elaborate books ever made, was the work not of the usual scriptorium team, but of a single artist-scribe. The book became the scribal desert where, like St Cuthbert alone on the harsh rock of Inner Farne, he did battle with his demons and immersed himself in a heroic feat of patience, meditation, and prayer on behalf of everybody and everything. This was the spiritual front-line, what Cassiodorus referred to when he said, 'Every word written is a wound on Satan's body' — the pen being mightier than the sword — and what the Irish sage Cummian of Iona described as 'entering the Sanctuary of God' by studying and transmitting Scripture, thereby filling your inner library with things mindful to know (Brown 2003b: 398–99; Walsh and Ó Cróinín 1988: 15–18, 57–59).

Some of the work may even have been conducted on little Cuddy's Isle, in the monastery's outer 'rath' on Holy Island, where for the forty days of Lent and the Advent season the bishop went on retreat, perhaps focusing upon such work as his

spiritual testing ground and escaping from the daily round of monastic life and his role as CEO of one of the largest dioceses in England — an eremitic regime that was not a renunciation of the world, but a time to be refilled and refuelled to recommit to it.

This was not a time for teaching or involving others in the task, for the hero-scribe in the Columban tradition was a solitary, symbolic champion, the Cúchulainn of his day, like Columba's friend, St Canice, who won renown for his feat in copying an entire gospelbook himself. Some rumour of the methods of its making probably travelled though. The only other Insular book so far found to use lead-point, for under-drawings rather than back-drawings though, is the St John portion of the Stowe Missal (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, MS D.II.3), made in Ireland in the early ninth century (Alexander 1978: no 51; Brown 2003b: 214–17).

The only artist who seems to have had direct access to the Lindisfarne Gospels' principal illuminated pages, however, was he who, a generation later, made the St Chad or Lichfield Gospels (Lichfield Cathedral, MS 1) (Alexander 1978: no. 21; Brown 2003b: 380–83; Brown 2007a). He seems to have copied the general layout of certain of its pages but simplified the geometric structure and detailing. Particularly closely observed is its *chi-rho* page — even down to the star announcing the Messiah's birth which shines behind the Greek chi in this Christmas week lection. Likewise the Matthew *Liber*, the Mark *Initium*, and the Luke *Quoniam*, although its form is simplified and more rectilinear and its framing beast is no longer the more realistically depicted cat that occupies the same position in the Lindisfarne Gospels. The Matthew carpet-page of Lindisfarne (fol. 26ᵛ; Plate III) is also here remodelled as that introducing Luke's Gospel (p. 220; Plate IV) — the only one in the book. Luke's is the only Gospel in the damaged volume to retain what is assumed to be its usual sequence of evangelist miniature, four-symbols page, carpet-page, and decorated incipit, but why base it on Lindisfarne's Matthew carpet rather than its Luke one? It may be that there was only ever one carpet page in Chad's scheme. The Book of Kells likewise has only one. Its placing before Luke's Gospel would be particularly apt. I have suggested that there is evidence, from an ordo known at Monkwearmouth/Jarrow, that prayer-mats were used in Northumbria in the eighth century during the veneration of the Cross on Good Friday; the placing of one at the entry onto the sacred ground of Luke's text, specifically related as it was to the symbolism of the Christ as the immolatory victim of the Crucifixion, would be particularly appropriate.

It is unlikely that this artist was also the scribe, for he makes a couple of howlers in his incipit display lettering that raise a question mark over his level of Latin literacy. He also goes a step further than the Lindisfarne Gospels' maker who

purposefully merged runic-style angular letters with Latin and Greek ones, the Chad artist using actual runic characters in places (for example, the Mark incipit page, p. 143). This alone serves to counter the claims of Welsh origins, for it is hard to conceive of any self-respecting Welsh scribe using runes during a period of resistance to English expansionism (Brown 2008).

Although very close to Lindisfarne in these design respects, in others Chad recalls the Book of Durrow (with its four-symbols page) and the Echternach and Durham Gospels in its figure style and drapery, the St Luke miniature also anticipating that of the Book of Kells. It also follows most of them in its single-column layout, and its text is of the mixed Old Latin/Vulgate type that was current, with variations, within the Columban *paruchia* before, and after, the Lindisfarne Gospels (which should perhaps be seen not as attempting to establish Jerome's Vulgate as an 'authorized' text, but rather to celebrate his role in the process of transmission). Chad's Mark miniature (p. 142), however, recalls the seated figure of King David in the Durham Cassiodorus (Durham, Cathedral Library, MS B.II.30, fol. 81ᵛ) (Alexander 1978: no. 17). This was long considered a Monkwearmouth/ Jarrow or York book on account of its Italian text and diagram-like drawings, but Richard Bailey (1978) has broken the mantra and suggested an unknown scriptorium in Northumbria or the Scottish Borders.

Chad and the Durham Cassiodorus raise interesting questions. If the former is redolent of the 'Hiberno-Saxon' cultural milieu and the latter of the 'Roman', does that have to mean that they were probably made in Lindisfarne and Monkwearmouth/Jarrow, respectively? No. There are other contexts in which such affinities might be explored and transgressed. Recent work by Dominic Powlesland, Richard Morris, and others is pointing to the Vale of Pickering and its vicinity as a particularly populous area of integrated monastic and secular landholding and royal activity (Morris forthcoming). Houses such as Lastingham, Kirkdale, Gilling East, and Stonegrave repay scrutiny. These Deiran establishments, with their rich sculptural legacies, were a meeting ground for the traditions of the key Bernician monasteries and had respective connections with them. Alcuin need not have seen one of the Ceolfrith Bibles, as his verses indicate, in York, but in nearby Ryedale. The access enjoyed by the artist of the Chad Gospels to the Lindisfarne Gospels might accord with the importance of a project to produce a similar book as the focus of the cults of two of Lindisfarne's other most famous sons: St Cedd at Lastingham and his brother, St Chad, at Lichfield. One of the reasons that the later rulers of Mercia, and of Carolingia, attempted to curb the autonomy of the old-style monastic federations was because they transcended territorial boundaries.

If Iona is to be considered as Ireland abroad, then Lichfield could likewise be viewed as Northumbria 'abroad' in Mercia. Likewise Cedd's foundations of Bradwell-on-sea and Tilbury in Essex which could also have produced or used books of the Northumbrian stylistic or textual tradition (or even Northumbrian manufacture). Like Cedd's church at Bradwell, however, if any such books were made in situ or designed specifically for the use of such mission churches, they would probably also have incorporated other more local influences, just as Bradwell's masonry employs the architectural techniques of the Kentish churches, built by Augustine and his followers 'more romanum', of stone. By the time that the Lindisfarne Gospels were being made on Holy Island, around 710–21, the early wooden church built 'more scottorum' by Bishop Finan had been replaced by two 'gemini' churches (in an east–west alignment, as at Jarrow) built of stone in Roman fashion, and yet Roman influences form but one ingredient in the gospelbook's sophisticated cultural synthesis. What, then, might the gospelbooks used at Lindisfarne's daughter houses of Lastingham, Tilbury, and Bradwell have looked like? It is possible that Northumbria and Southumbria may have far less relevance as territorial distinctions in cultural than in political terms (Brown 1996: 164–72; 2003b: 254–66).

In my studies of the Book of Cerne and other members of the eighth- to ninth-century 'Tiberius Group' of manuscripts from Southumbria, I have suggested an antidote to the pendulum-like sway of the earlier argument and counter-argument of the scholars Sisam and Kuhn (Brown 1996: 20–24; Brown 2002; Brown 2007b). Rather than see the whole group of stylistically related manuscripts as the products of either Canterbury or Mercia (focusing upon its chief see of Lichfield), I proposed the concept of a Mercian *schriftprovinz*, similar to Bernard Bischoff's 'Irische schriftprovinz' which embraced Ireland, Northumbria, southern Scotland, and their foundations on the Continent. I accordingly broadened the members of the Tiberius Group and suggested diffusion throughout Mercia, the East Midlands, and Kent, which were part of the same cultural and political alignment during much of the period in question — that of the so-called 'Mercian hegemony'.

Thus, it should come as little surprise if a gospelbook made as a focal point of the shrine of St Chad, a son of Lindisfarne, at Lichfield should stylistically resemble that which adorned the shrine of St Cuthbert on Holy Island — the caput of the Cuthbertine *paruchia* whence Chad and his brothers came. Nor that it should combine this with other influences and allegiances: the textual tradition of the Columban *paruchia* and other artistic influences reminiscent of works as divergent as the Durham Cassiodorus and the Book of Kells (Brown 2007a; 2008).

So, like the archaeologist, the modern exponent of manuscript studies under-takes careful excavation of individual book-sites, groups them into intersecting cultural landscapes, and attempts to interpret the overview in the light of the shape-changing view of historical context. As a result, a new map of manuscript production and distribution would, as in other associated areas of study, assume a fluid form of shifting overlays and more alternative place-names as our under-standing of these complex webs of relationship and changing alignment deepens.

References

Alexander, J. J. G. 1978. *Insular Manuscripts: Sixth to Ninth Century* (London: Miller)

Bailey, R. 1978. *The Durham Cassiodorus*, Jarrow Lecture (Jarrow: St Paul's Church)

Brown, M. P. 1994. 'The Role of the Wax Tablet in Medieval Literacy: A Reconsideration in Light of a Recent Find from York', *British Library Journal*, 20.1: 1–15

———. 1996. *The Book of Cerne: Prayer, Patronage and Power in Ninth-Century England* (London: British Library)

———. 2000. *'In the Beginning Was the Word': Books and Faith in the Age of Bede*, Jarrow Lecture (Jarrow: St Paul's Church)

———. 2001. 'Female Book-Ownership and Production in Anglo-Saxon England: The Evidence of the Ninth-Century Prayerbooks', in *Lexis and Texts in Early English: Papers in Honour of Jane Roberts*, ed. by C. Kay and L. Sylvester (Amsterdam: Rodopi), 45–68

———. 2002. 'Mercian Manuscripts? The "Tiberius" Group and its Historical Context', in *Mercia: An Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe*, ed. by M. P. Brown and C. Farr (Leicester: Leicester University Press), 278–93

———. 2003a. 'House-Style in the Scriptorium: Scribal Reality and Scholarly Myth', in *Anglo-Saxon Styles*, ed. by G. Brown and C. Karkov (New York: State University of New York), 131–50

———. 2003b. *The Lindisfarne Gospels: Society, Spirituality and the Scribe* (London: British Library)

——— (ed.). 2006. *In the Beginning: Bibles Before the Year 1000* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution)

———. 2007a. 'The Lichfield Angel and the Manuscript Context: Lichfield as a Centre of Insular Art', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 160: 8–19

———. 2007b. 'The Barberini Gospels: Context and Intertextuality', in *Text, Image, Interpretation: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature and its Insular Context in Honour of Eamonn Ó Carragáin*, ed. by A. Minnis and J. Roberts (Turnhout: Brepols), 89–116

———. 2008. 'The Lichfield / Llandeilo Gospels Reinterpreted', in *Authority and Subjugation in Writing of Medieval Wales*, ed. by R. Kennedy and S. Meecham-Jones (Basingstoke: Palgrave and Macmillan), 57–70

Brown, T. J. 1969. *The Stonyhurst Gospel of St John* (Oxford: Roxburghe Club)

Carver, M. O. H. 2004. 'An Iona of the East: The Early Medieval Monastery at Portmahomack, Tarbat Ness', *Medieval Archaeology*, 48: 1–30

Carver, M. O. H., and C. Spall. 2004. 'Excavating a *Parchmenerie*: Archaeological Correlates of Making Parchment at the Pictish Monastery at Portmahomack, Easter Ross', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 134: 183–200

Dain, A. 1975. *Les Manuscrits*, 3rd edn (Paris: Belles Lettres)

Delaissé L. M. J. 1977. *Illuminated Manuscripts: The James A. Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor* (Fribourg: National Trust)

de Montfaucon, B. 1708. *Palaeographia Graeca* (Paris: Guerin)

de Rossi, G. B. 1888. *La Bibbia offerta da Ceolfrido Abbate al Sepolchro di S. Pietro* (Vatican: Tipografia poliglotta della S.C. di propaganda fide)

Dodwell, C. R. 1982. *Anglo-Saxon Art: A New Perspective* (Manchester: Manchester University Press)

Dumville, D. N. 1999. *Palaeographer's Review* (Osaka: Kansai University)

Henderson, G. 1993. 'Cassiodorus and Ezra Once Again', in *The Age of Migrating Ideas: Early Medieval Art in Northern Britain and Ireland; Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Insular Art held in the National Museums of Scotland in Edinburgh, 3–6 January 1991*, ed. by M. Spearman and J. Higgitt (Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland; Stroud: Sutton), 82–91

Kelly, E. P. 1994. 'The Lough Kinale Shrine: The Implications for the Manuscripts', in *The Book of Kells: Proceedings of a Conference at Trinity College Dublin, 6–9 September 1992*, ed. by F. O'Mahony (Aldershot: Ashgate), 280–89

Loveluck, C. 2007. *Rural Settlement, Lifestyles and Social Change in the Later First Millennium AD at Flixborough, Lincolnshire: Anglo-Saxon Flixborough in its Wider Context (Excavations at Flixborough)* (Oxford: Oxbow)

Lowe, E. A. 1934–72. *Codices Latini Antiquiores,* 11 vols and suppl. (Oxford: Clarendon Press)

Meehan, B. 2006. *The Faddan Moor Psalter*, Archaeology Ireland, Supplement, 77 (Dublin: Guerin)

Meyvaert, P. 2005. 'The Date of Bede's *In Ezram* and his Image of Ezra in the Codex Amiatinus', *Speculum*, 80: 1087–1133

Micheli, P. 1999. 'What's in the Cupboard? Ezra and Matthew Reconsidered', in *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. by J. Hawkes and S. Mills (Stroud: Sutton), 345–58

Morris, R. K. Forthcoming. *Religious Communities in Ryedale* (York: Landscape Research Centre)

O'Reilly, J. 2001. 'The Library of Scripture: Views from the Vivarium and Wearmouth-Jarrow', in *New Offerings, Ancient Treasures: Essays in Medieval Art for George Henderson*, ed. by P. Binski and W. G. Noel (Stroud: Sutton), 3–39

Roosen-Runge, H. 1956–60. 'Report on the Microscopic Observation of Pigments', in *Evangeliorum Quattuor Codex Lindisfarnensis*, ed. by T. D. Kendrick (Lausanne: Urs Graf), 263–74

Sanders, W. B. 1878–84. *Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon Charters*, 3 vols (Southampton: Ordnance Survey)

Sawyer, P. H. 1968. *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated Bibliography* (London: Royal Historical Society)

Strutt, J. 1775–76. *Compleat View of the Manners, Customs, Arms, Habits etc. of the Inhabitants of England* (London: Jones)

Walsh, M., and D. Ó Cróinín (eds). 1988. *Cummian's Letter De controversia Paschale* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies)

Webster, L., and J. M. Backhouse (eds). 1991. *The Making of England: Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture AD 600–900* (London: British Museum)

Wood, I. 1995. *The Most Holy Abbot, Ceolfrid*, Jarrow Lecture (Jarrow: St Paul's Church)

Re-evaluating Early Medieval Northumbrian Contacts and the 'Coastal Highway'

Christopher Ferguson

Between AD 600 and 900 the people of early medieval Northumbria were centrally placed within a system of communication, contact, and trade spanning the coastal areas of England and the immediate Continent. They inhabited and used archaeological sites that focused upon the inland waterways and coastline of northern England and southern Scotland. This clustering of sites of the Anglo-Saxon period, and the notable difference between settlements in the 'Anglian plain' and the 'Britonnic highlands' of Northumbria, has been acknowledged elsewhere (Gifford and Gifford 1999: 86; Newton 1972: 23). The distribution of these sites leads us to consider whether there was regular use of both inland and coastal waterways, how those waterways may have been used, and what contact would have existed between these communities and those situated elsewhere within the North Sea basin. It has been argued that the development of North Sea shipping was vital to the emergence of *wics* around the North Sea (see Hodges 1989; Ellmers 1972; Lebecq 1983). It is suggested that maritime connectivity would have penetrated farther inland than has previously been considered. In part to address these issues, this paper assesses the capabilities of Anglo-Saxon vessels and the time it would take for such vessels to sail from sites in Northumbria to important sites both within and without the kingdom (Map 19). This paper will argue that previous calculations of travel times (e.g. Carver 1990; Cameron 1982; Morken 1968), whilst useful, are to some degree flawed either in their methodology or in the evidence upon which they are based. A new method is proposed to assess these boats' travelling time from one location to another. The inland waterways were regularly utilized throughout the early medieval period, and maritime activity penetrated much farther inland than has previously been considered. A reassessment of travel times in Northumbria suggests these coastal and 'inland' sites
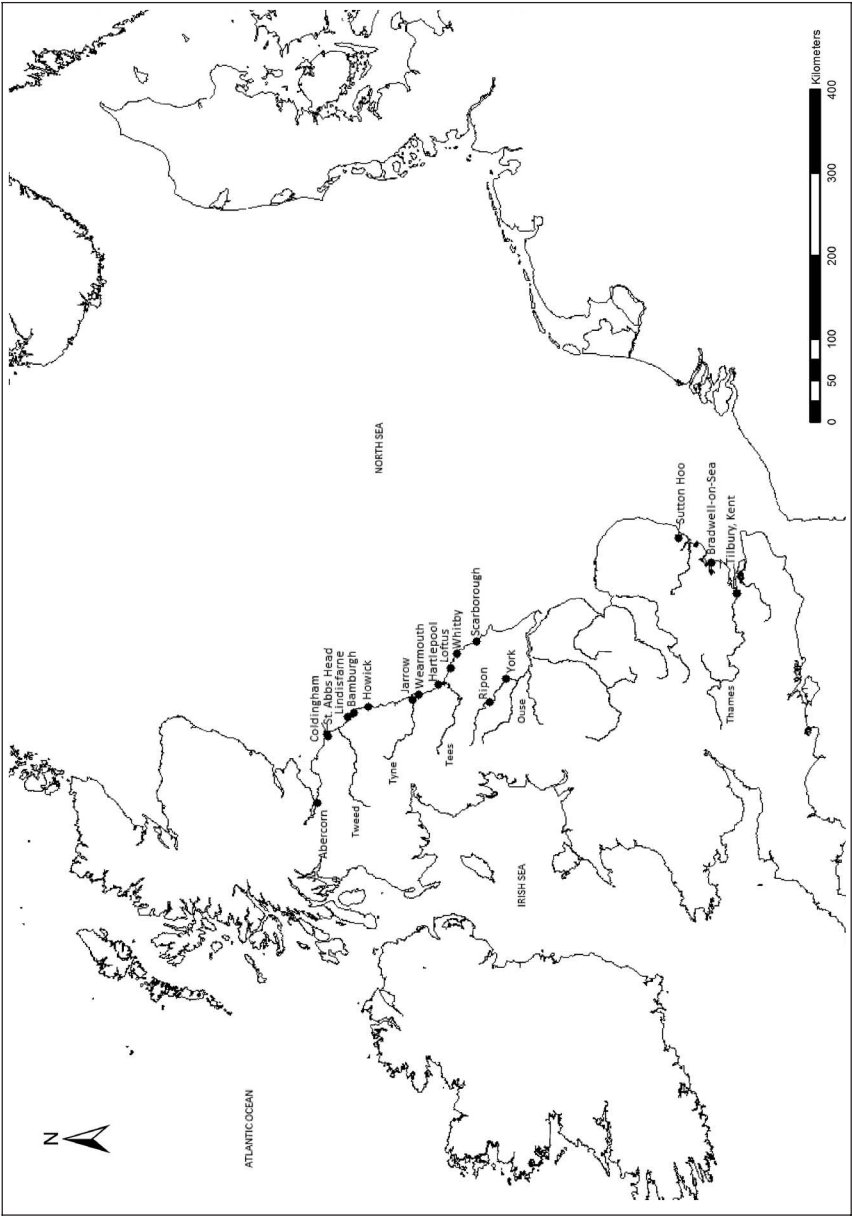
Map 19. Sites and rivers mentioned in the text.

were in no way peripheral but were instead located on an early medieval 'coastal highway' The use of this highway may have changed during the period discussed here, due to the waxing and waning of personal connections and economic ties. Remains from the major monastic and secular sites of the region support the hypothesis that the communities of Northumbria were part of an interconnected North Sea world.

The Capabilities of Early Medieval Vessels: Sailors or Rowers?

Relatively scant evidence for early medieval ships has been archaeologically recovered. Whilst there are some excellent surveys of early medieval marine craft and technology (e.g. Cameron 1982; McGrail 1998), a brief overview of the capabilities of such vessels is required here to allow an assessment of the sea and inland waterways as a method of contact and communication in Northumbria.

Most ships from the early medieval period in the British Isles were clinker built (constructed from the keel up using overlapping planks of wood fastened together with iron rivets) (see Fenwick 1978; Gifford and Gifford 1999; McGrail 1998). To date none of these vessels have provided evidence for construction beyond the hull. This could be due to a number of factors. Boats that were lost at sea, where we should expect to find sails and fittings in situ, are unlikely to be recovered. Secondly, given the expense in both labour and materials associated with the felling, transport, splitting, and shaping of the timber planks, any vessel that may have sunk in a river or harbour environment — exactly the locations we would be likely to find them — would have been salvaged when possible. The seventh-century boat-burials from Sutton Hoo and Snape, along with the tenth-century Graveney boat, form nearly the entire archaeologically extant corpus from Anglo-Saxon England (Filmer-Sankley 1992; Fenwick 1978; Goodburn 1994; Carver 1990). Similar burials were found at Ashby Dell (1830), Caistor-on-Sea, Catfield (1955), Great Yarmouth (1886, 1911), and Walthamstow (1830, 1900), although no details are extant for any of these vessels. The Graveney vessel is, however, the only ship to come from a non-burial context within England.

It is useful to contrast the evidence from early medieval England with that from the Continent. This evidence can be found in ships from Nydam (sixth century), Oseberg (ninth century), Gokstad (tenth century), Roskilde, and the Skuldelev ships (tenth to eleventh centuries) from Scandinavia (see McGrail 1998; Crumlin-Pedersen and Olsen 1978). No evidence for sails or masts was identified in the excavation of early medieval vessels during the early twentieth century, so it was presumed that the majority of vessels were powered by oar. This has led to the

consideration of these vessels as over-sized rowing boats. Later excavations and re-examinations have suggested otherwise. The earliest craft to demonstrate indisputable evidence for the use of a sail is the Oseberg vessel (*c.* AD 800, McGrail 1998: 225). Masts, and mast-steps, have also been identified from Gokstad, the Skuldelev vessels, and the Graveney ship. Haywood (1994) posits that masts could have been strapped to the hull of early medieval craft using a brace, rather than permanently attached as in later vessels. If this were the case then earlier craft, such as at Sutton Hoo, could have had masts that were removed to allow space for the body and associated funerary goods upon burial. It seems likely, however, that any journey to the British Isles in a vessel of this form (sail or not) would have avoided the open sea and stayed to the coastal waters of continental Europe and Britain when attempting to cross the North Sea (see Marcus 1955; Hodges 1989).

In an attempt to understand how early medieval vessels would have functioned, both the Graveney and Sutton Hoo ships have been reconstructed as half-scale working models (Gifford and Gifford 1996; 1999). Gifford and Gifford have argued that early medieval vessels were capable of holding a sail and were designed with the *intention* of sailing. These reconstructions have been criticized for 'improving' upon the excavated data (Crumlin-Pedersen and McGrail 2006: 54; McGrail 2007:10), as have the merits of constructing a half-scale model. It has been suggested that half-scale models are too small for the effect of oars to be fully studied, and the complex interaction between sails and hulls can only be satisfactorily evaluated after full-scale trials have been undertaken (McGrail 2007). The Skuldelev II vessel, however, has been reconstructed as a full-scale working model (Crumlin-Pedersen and Olsen 2002) and has proven to be extremely capable when powered by both oar and sail, drawing some similar conclusions to the Giffords' half-scale reconstruction.

There are also documentary references to the use of sail within the wider corpus of Anglo-Saxon literature. The epic *Beowulf* contains numerous references to seafaring and ships, and the use of sail power seems so widespread that the sea is described as the *selgrad* or 'sail-road' (*Beowulf* 1.1429). Bede also makes reference to travel by boat including numerous journeys to the continent and Rome (e.g. *HE* III, 13; IV, 18). Wilfrid is shown to travel to Gaul and the continent on vessels equipped with sails (Stephen, *Life Wilf.* 7, 36), and the West Saxon king Cadwalla was baptized in Rome (*HE* V, 7). Eanfleda returned from Kent to be wife to Oswy of Northumbria by sea. It must be noted that travel to Rome or other Continental cities would have involved crossing Francia by land. While these sources do not provide much *direct* evidence for maritime transport, the documentary evidence supports the assertion of this paper that sailing was the most likely method of propulsion of early medieval vessels. At the very least, it is reasonable to assume

that most vessels of the early medieval period in Northumbria were fitted with sails alongside oars, especially if (as will be argued below) these vessels utilized inland waterways. Regardless, the possible use of sailing prompts a re-evaluation of the distances that could be traversed and over which contacts maintained. To do so, the areas accessible to these vessels must be assessed, and the areas in which they travelled defined.

Reconsidering the Coast: Accessible Areas and the Inland Waterways

Recent studies, mainly based on historical sources, have demonstrated that a larger proportion of the river systems in the British Isles may have been navigable in the medieval period than had previously been considered (e.g. Edwards and Hindle 1991; Langdon 1993; 2000; 2007; Jones 2000). For example, in the twelfth century, the Ouse would have been navigable far beyond York, the Hull navigable beyond Wansford, and the Tees beyond the settlement at Yarm (Langdon 1993: 5). These conclusions are further supported when the water depths in the modern rivers of north-east England are examined (based upon data from the United Kingdom Hydrographic Office). It is difficult to account for the level of silting and erosion that may have occurred in rivers between the early medieval period and the present day; it is, however, clear that the majority of river systems have become shallower in the last century as a result of modern agricultural practices. If we take the modern river system as a conservative basis for the farthest possible limits that a Sutton Hoo or Skuldelev II type ship could navigate, then large areas of inland Northumbria become accessible. On the Tyne, for example, it would have been possible to navigate as far as modern Prudhoe, only a few miles from Corbridge or Hexham by land. Equally, on the Ouse, areas as far as York and Ripon become accessible by ship. These ships would have enabled the dispersed communities of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries to undertake low-level trade and transport without the need for deep-water harbours, which are not seen in the British Isles until after the ninth century. This can be seen in the development of the London waterfront in the ninth and tenth centuries to accommodate deeper vessels, similarly the relocation of the port at Hamwic (Hodges 1989; Milne 1979).

Analysing eleventh- and twelfth-century inland waterways provides insight into the navigable extent of rivers and canals in the sixth to ninth centuries. Allowances must be made for silting or the presence of obstructions that were created or removed in the intervening periods, but on the whole these routes would have been fairly similar. The ability of medieval populations to create and maintain canal and inland water systems has been highlighted through an examination of Continental

and English canals (Blair 2007: 4). Blair suggests that later early medieval boats, such as the Blackfriars or Graveney vessels, would easily have sailed the Kanhave canal in Denmark or the Glastonbury canal in Britain (Blair 2007: 3–4), the shallow draft of these vessels allowing them the ability to navigate these shallow inland channels.

It is possible that the shallow draft and low sides of Anglo-Saxon ships may have allowed them more manoeuvrability in coastal waters than their later Norse counterparts such as the Skuldelev ship (see Gifford and Gifford 1999). The sailing trials of the Skuldelev II ship (which has a draft of 1.27 metres, slightly deeper than the 0.71 metres of the Sutton Hoo ship) exhibited no problems in the open sea or deep coastal waters of Scandinavia, but may have been less capable on the shores of eastern England. The shallow draft of early medieval vessels, as seen on the Sutton Hoo ship, allowed them to penetrate much more closely to the shore, through treacherously shallow waters, than was possible with later medieval cogs.

Any of the vessels from the corpus of early medieval shipping discussed here could have navigated the coastal or inland waters of Northumbria, despite differences in purpose or design. The Sutton Hoo, Ladby, Skuldelev II, and Skuldelev V ships, for example, were all designed as warships; whereas the Graveney, Skuldelev I, and Skuldelev III ships, by contrast, are clearly trading ships designed to hold cargo. Other purposes have also been noted: the Oseberg ship may be a barge, and the Snape and the ninth- to twelfth-century River Mersey dugouts were logboat-form vessels. Regardless, the shallow draft of all these early medieval vessels would have allowed them to navigate some of the inland waterways of Northumbria.

It has been previously assumed that the river systems of Anglo-Saxon England would have been plied by boats designed in a similar fashion to those on the Rhine (e.g. Fenwick 1978). These vessels are exemplified by the Utrecht ship, built in a different tradition to the clinker-built craft noted above. These vessels were constructed by stretching skin over a wooden frame, or constructing timber vessels in the same design (Hodges 1989; McGrail 1998; Philipsen 1965). Hodges (1989: 97) has argued that Utrecht-type craft could have plied the North Sea littoral and the Channel, partly due to their similarity to skin-curraghs which have been demonstrated to be particularly seaworthy. Therefore, the shallow draft of those vessels previously designated in the archaeological corpus as sea-craft would not have prevented them from entering river systems. Even if river-boats similar to the Utrecht ship were present, their existence does not preclude seagoing vessels from accessing inland waterways, or equally, from river-boats acting as seagoing vessels.

The capacity of early medieval vessels to navigate inland waterways prompts us to regard sites ordinarily considered as 'inland' as part of a 'coastal' system.

However, though the inland waterways were navigable, it would be impossible to 'sail' upriver (though downriver journeys could use the river's current to aid propulsion). Other means of propulsion (rowing, or towing by horse or oxen) would need to be utilized for the upriver sections of such journeys. Sites such as York and Ripon are therefore deemed as accessible by boat for this study. The ability to use the same vessels on coastal waters, on inland waterways, and even on the open sea suggests vessels could have navigated all three areas routinely. Indeed, these areas could readily be used for transport and commerce. In one instance, Bede describes how a band of monks from Jarrow ventured upriver to collect wood for construction, only for them to be swept out to sea (*Life Cuth.* iii); as such, it was not uncommon for goods (in this case wood or timber) or people to be moved using water-based transport. Thus, travel and trade within the whole of early medieval Northumbria should be reconsidered when ships could readily and quickly navigate both inland and coastal waterways.

Reconsidering the Coast: Harbours and Coastal Navigation

If inland waterways were navigable by early medieval vessels, then it is equally important to determine which sites along the Northumbrian coast would have been visited. The sites assessed in this brief survey include those mentioned directly by Bede, as well as a number of excavated early medieval secular and funerary sites.

Initially we must define the possible landing sites available to early medieval vessels. Makepeace (1993) conducted a survey of possible early medieval harbours across Northumbria. Harbours were identified at Abercorn, Coldingham, Bamburgh, Jarrow, Wearmouth, Hartlepool, and Whitby. To this initial list, this essay proposes that sites near Howick, Loftus, and Scarborough should be added. These 'harbours' are low-lying sand or gravel beaches upon which it would have been feasible to beach early medieval craft since deep-water harbours were only developed after the late ninth century.

The monastic communities at Coldingham, Lindisfarne, Jarrow, Wearmouth, Hartlepool, and Whitby are mentioned directly by Bede (*HE* III, 3; III, 24; IV, 19; V, 24), as is the royal vil at Bamburgh. There were possibly Roman signal stations on the Yorkshire coast, notably at Scarborough (Bell 1999). These signal stations may have been reused as sites for early medieval Christian activity, and the site at Scarborough shows evidence for a later Anglo-Saxon church. Furthermore, Scarborough is less than ten miles from the early medieval activity in the Vale of Pickering at West Heslerton, and so is added to the list of possible harbours (Haughton and Powlesland 1999). The cemetery sites at Howick and Loftus are prominently

situated on the coast of Northumbria, near to suitable harbour locations. Both show evidence for the reuse of prehistoric monuments which would still have been visible in the early medieval period (Jobey and Newman 1975). Indeed, it would have been significantly easier to approach both sites from the sea rather than over land due to their situation and aspect.

There is evidence from reconstructions of early medieval vessels, archaeology, and documentary sources that suggests these beach sites were readily utilized. Two beach-landing trials were conducted with the *Sæ Wylfing* half-scale reconstruction of the Sutton Hoo vessel, which suggested that high-speed landings were possible and that a ship of this style could be beached in high surf (Gifford and Gifford 1999). Bede also mentions sailors who 'dropped anchor' during a storm (*HE* V, 7).

This placement of early medieval Northumbrian sites seems intended to allow full access to the coastal routes of the North Sea. Indeed, as will be seen later, it is important to question why, and by whom, these sites were placed. It is not unreasonable to consider that these coastal routes functioned similarly as a unifying feature to those discussed by Edmonds (2007) in the north-west of England or those in the south-west of England discussed by Wooding (1996). This paper has demonstrated that these vessels were extremely adaptable and could call at sites with beach harbours as well as sites located 'inland'. Edmonds's (2007) unifying thesis for north-west England could therefore be applied to Northumbria and expanded, depending upon how quickly early medieval vessels could navigate between one location and the next.

Speed Capabilities of Early Medieval Craft

Various maximum and average speeds have been suggested for early medieval vessels, particularly for the Sutton Hoo ship. Table 9 shows the various estimates for average speeds that early medieval vessels could achieve.

Carver (1990), with figures taken from Morken (1968), estimated that a ship of the early medieval period could maintain six knots under sail and three knots under oar. However, Morken arrived at his calculations based upon estimation of a 'day's sail' from written eleventh- and twelfth-century accounts of Norse sailing voyages. Given that these estimates were based on later textual evidence, and that more recent and accurate speed measurements have now emerged, this paper questions the utility of Morken's (and Carver's) data for calculating travel times. Green (1963) and Cameron (1982), using different methods, also calculated the speed of ships of the early medieval period. Both used the archaeological remains

Table 9. Estimations of sailing speeds.

Source/Author		Green (1963)	Morken (1968)	Cameron (1982)
Sailing Speed	Cruising Speed	5 knots (Graveney) 9 knots (Sutton Hoo)	6 knots (documentary)	5 knots (Graveney) 8.77 knots (Sutton Hoo)
	Maximum Speed	7 knots (Graveney) 11 knots (Sutton Hoo)	8 knots (documentary)	7 knots (Graveney) 11.17 knots (Sutton Hoo)

Source/Author		Gifford and Gifford (1999)	Crumlin-Pedersen (2007)	McGrail (1998)
Sailing Speed	Cruising Speed	5 knots (Graveney reconstruction) 7 knots (Sutton Hoo reconstruction)	7 knots (Skuldelev II reconstruction)	6 knots (Skuldelev III)
	Maximum Speed	7 knots (Graveney reconstruction) 10 knots (Sutton Hoo reconstruction)	15–20 knots (Skuldelev II reconstruction)	8.7 knots (Skuldelev III)

of the Graveney and Sutton Hoo craft to mathematically model the maximum possible speeds of such craft.

The figures shown for Gifford and Gifford (1999: 79) and Crumlin-Pedersen (2007) are based upon evidence from reconstructed vessels. The half-scale reconstruction of the Sutton Hoo ship utilized by the Giffords, however, can be seen to incorporate some of the improvements that have been questioned by McGrail, such as basing the design of the rudder upon that found with the Nydam ship (2007: 10).

In contrast to the half-scale reconstructions of the Graveney and Sutton Hoo ships, Skuldelev II and III have been reconstructed as full-scale working models (Crumlin-Pedersen and Olsen 2002). Skuldelev II and III are included here for comparative purposes. Vessels that share their design only occur after the end of the ninth century. Their design is, however, based upon earlier ship-building traditions and can still inform us about the capabilities of early medieval craft. Skuldelev II was a Norse-style warship. Skuldelev III was designed exclusively for trade and cargo; as Hodges (1989: 99) demonstrates, it is a derivative of coastal trading vessels that plied the North Sea coasts of Germany capable of transporting up to ten tons of cargo.

Thus, a cruising speed of seven knots under sail was probable for Sutton Hoo–style vessels of this period, with a maximum sailing speed of approximately eleven knots. If taking a conservative estimate based on rowing propulsion, speeds of three knots have been estimated from both sea-trials of replica vessels and calculations (Cameron 1982; Crumlin-Pedersen 2007; Crumlin-Pedersen and Olsen 2002). These figures, with the archaeological and physical landscape, can be used to calculate the time it would take to reach destinations around the North Sea from sites on the coastal and inland waterways of Northumbria.

Travel Times from Early Medieval Northumbria

Carver (1990) argued that in considerations of early medieval Britain, archaeologists and historians must view the eastern seaboard as a common area, not as a barrier between the land and sea:

> It is not a terrestrial zone but a maritime one, in which the eastern coastline of Britain plays the role of an arterial route, bringing all the estuaries of the east, in theory at least, nearer to each other than to their contiguous western land mass. (Carver 1998: 39)

Communities living in this maritime zone would have had three modes of transportation available to them: over land, by oar, or by sail. Each mode impacts the available contacts and use of the 'coastal highway'. As has been shown, it is possible to calculate the time it would take to travel from one part of the medieval world to another by sail or oar in a vessel similar to those from Sutton Hoo, Graveney, or Skuldelev. When calculating travel by foot, two factors have been considered. Firstly, that travel by land routes would have occurred via the shortest overland route available, following the Roman road network. Secondly, that overland travel would have been at a pace of fifteen miles per day; this represents a compromise pace accounting for the average between travel by foot or by animal, and whether travel would have been undertaken on poorly or well-maintained routes, roads, or trackways (from Carver 1990: 122; Goodchild and Forbes 1957: 527).

Problems arise when calculating sailing times due to the ambiguity of defining one 'day'. Although it is possible to sail for twenty-four hours a day (some voyages may have done so), many voyages would have only sailed during daylight or would have stopped at different locations on route. Even when assuming a 'day' to only incorporate twelve hours instead of twenty-four, this measurement neglects the differences in daylight due to seasons or weather conditions that may have affected voyages. It is proposed here that the time taken to sail should be calculated by the number of hours it would have taken, thereby giving a more precise yet flexible

measurement. Calculating the sailing time by hours instead of days allows us to correct for seasonality and how it would have affected sailing. While hours are the more sophisticated measurement for travel, discussions of land travel in the medieval period (e.g. Goodchild and Forbes 1957) have measured distances covered in days, rather than hours. For the purpose of clarity in this discussion, a twelve-hour day is used for sea-based travel when placed in comparison to terrestrial travel. When sea-based travel is discussed in isolation, hours are used as the unit of measurement.

Two different measures of travel time are provided here: one for sailing and one for rowing. The data then discerns between the maximum speed and the cruising speed possible in a Sutton Hoo–style vessel. By addressing both speeds, we can see the shortest theoretical time it would take to travel by sea in the early medieval world. Of course, this is only a theoretical number given changing weather conditions, ports of call, and other factors that would have been part of any voyage. The crudity of the measurements proposed here is acknowledged. In order to achieve a fully accurate analysis of travel times on the eastern coasts of the British Isles, a friction-surface analysis needs to be conducted, including the inland waterways of eastern Britain and accounting fully for changes in seasonality and tidal movements. The basic premise of these calculations still stands: that hours instead of days should be used as a basic measurement of time, that the sailing capabilities of early medieval vessels listed here is more accurate, and that inland waterways could have been navigated easily and readily by vessels in this period. The calculations based upon the average cruising speed for this style of vessel are more likely, and allow for rest, shelter, and stoppages. The cruising speed also allows for a more reasonable comparison with land and oar-based travel. Taking these figures for walking, rowing, and sailing within the early medieval period, we can determine approximate travel times from Northumbria to various important sites in Britain and north-west Europe.

As can be seen in Table 10, there is a marked difference between travel over land and travel using oar power. Bamburgh was selected as the starting point for comparing journeys as it was an important secular and royal site in Bernicia and Northumbria. Those journeys undertaken using oar-powered vessels bring even the furthest-flung parts of eastern England within ten days' travelling time of Bamburgh. For example, Bradwell-on-Sea is 104 hours rowing time from Bamburgh, which, presuming a twelve-hour travelling day, is just under nine days' travel. Over 70 per cent of the sites listed are within less than seven days' travel from Bamburgh. Abercorn, Coldingham, Lindisfarne, Howick, Jarrow, Wearmouth, Hartlepool, Loftus, Whitby, and Scarborough are all within four days' travel from Bamburgh,

Table 10. Travel times from Bamburgh to various sites in the early medieval world. The figures calculated for the time taken to walk is listed in days, with the time it would take in hours listed in brackets. This figure is an approximation based upon a twelve-hour walking day.

Location	Overland distance in Miles	Sea Distance in Miles	Travel Time by Land in Days (Hours)	Travel Time by Oar Power in Hours	Travel Time by Sail Power (Cruising Speed) in Hours	Travel Time by Sail Power (Maximum Speed) in Hours
Bamburgh	–	–	–	–	–	–
Abercorn	80	70	5.33 days (64 hours)	20.27	8.65	5.53
Coldingham	25	25	1.6 days (12 hours)	7.24	3.1	1.97
Lindisfarne	8	5	0.5 days (6 hours)	1.45	0.62	0.39
Howick	12	12	0.8 days (9 hours)	3.48	1.49	0.95
Jarrow	75	50	5 days (60 hours)	14.48	6.21	3.95
Wearmouth	80	55	5.33 days (64 hours)	15.93	6.83	4.34
Hartlepool	95	75	6.33 days (76 hours)	21.72	9.31	5.92
Loftus	115	85	7.66 days (92 hours)	24.62	10.55	6.71
Whitby	180	100	12 days (144 hours)	28.96	12.41	7.9
Scarborough	185	120	12.3 days (148 hours)	34.76	14.9	9.48
York	135	235	11.25 days (135 hours)	68.06	29.17	18.56
Ripon	162	262	10.8 days (130 hours)	75.89	32.52	20.69
Sutton Hoo	340	325	22.66 days (272 hours)	94.13	40.35	25.67
Bradwell-on-Sea	380	360	25.3 days (304 hours)	104.27	44.69	28.44
Kent	340	395	22.6 days (272 hours)	114.41	49.04	31.2
East Saxons	360	360	24 days (288 hours)	104.27	44.69	28.44
Francia	–	400	-	115.86	49.66	31.59

while York and Ripon are between five and six and a half days away. A journey to the East Saxons is reduced from twenty-four days by land to just less than nine days by sea.

While the calculations for oar-powered transport show a dramatic time-space differentiation within Northumbria, when the possibility of travel by sail is accounted for, journey times along the east coast drop even more significantly. Using sail power alone, and at cruising speeds, coastal sites in Northumbria such as Jarrow, Wearmouth, and Hartlepool are all easily accessible in under a day from Bamburgh. Places traditionally observed as 'far-flung' from Northumbria, such as Kent and Bradwell-on-Sea for example, can be reached with less than fifty hours sailing. Seen through this lens, sites that are 'peripheral' become as, if not more, easily accessible as sites in the Northumbrian interior. These figures are of course approximations based upon sailing at a cruising speed. It would have been possible to travel for longer durations if needed, or at faster velocities given the right weather and seasonal conditions, just as slower journeys would have occurred. Regardless, given these results, Carver's (1990) assertion that the eastern coast should be seen as a common border and transportation route seems entirely plausible. Instead of viewing these sites (particularly the monastic communities) as being peripheral places, they should be viewed as residing on the early medieval equivalent of a 'coastal highway'.

The Archaeological Evidence of Contacts

A cursory examination of the archaeological remains from Northumbria seems to suggest that these sites were placed within reach of the early medieval coastal highway. Remains of imported goods suggest a high point in contact between Northumbria, the southern Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, and the Continent during the mid-seventh and mid-eighth centuries, which may reflect the importance of powerful individuals (such as Benedict Biscop) for the formation and continuation of communications.

The sites within the Deiran portion of Northumbria (focused around the Humber estuary and including the sites at York) suggest that contacts with southern England and the Continent existed throughout the period from AD 600 to 900. Regarding contact with southern England, Flixborough provides the largest concentration of eighth- to ninth-century Ipswich ware pottery outside East Anglia. Wider distribution of Ipswich ware around the Humber estuary can be seen from Riby, Holton le Clay, Barrow-upon-Humber, Lurk Lane, Beverly, and

Wharram Percy (Loveluck 1998). In York, Ipswich ware accounts for between 5 and 6 per cent of the total eighth-century ceramic assemblage (Mainman 1993). These sites also provide an interesting collection of non-Northumbrian Anglo-Saxon coinage. The collections of East Anglian pottery and southern Anglo-Saxon coinage from southern Deira suggest links with southern England spanning the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries.

Sites from the northern Deira and Bernicia regions of Northumbria have also provided some hints of contacts with the rest of the Anglo-Saxon world at this time. Two non-Northumbrian coins were discovered at the site of the Jarrow monastery (Archibald 2005: 225). Preliminary examination suggests that the early seventh-century cemetery at Street House (Cleveland) has some Kentish metal-work amongst the burial goods (Sherlock and Simmons 2008). Most intriguingly, a penny of Æthelred of Wessex (AD 866–71) was discovered at the rural settlement site of Green Shiel, Lindisfarne (O'Sullivan and Young 1991).

The evidence from Northumbria suggests strong, if not stronger, links existed between the region and continental Europe through this period than with the southern or western parts of England. In the Humber estuary area, pottery from the Seine valley is evident at Flixborough from the end of the seventh century onwards. Indeed, Flixborough has provided a wide range of imported Continental ceramics, including Walbeberg ware and Badorf Ware (Loveluck 1998; Loveluck and Atkinson 2007). To the north of the estuary, northern French black-burnished ware and Tating ware were found at Wharram Percy. Such large quantities of Tating ware and Continental black- and grey-burnished wares were imported at York that they make up a third of the total pottery assemblage in the early to mid-eighth century and still make up 17 per cent of the assemblage in the late eighth century (Mainman 1993). North of the Humber, however, as with the Anglo-Saxon imports, there are fewer Continental remains. Much of the ceramic evidence from Whitby was wrongly attributed to Continental origins, although there is still a significant amount of imported Rhenish pottery (Cramp 1993). The monastic sites of Wearmouth and Jarrow have also produced imported European assemblages (Cramp 2005). The only Continental precious metalwork from the region predates the ceramic remains by a century; an early seventh-century gold brooch from Merovingian Gaul was found associated with a burial at Loftus.

It would appear, from this passing examination of the evidence, that two different forms of contact, driven by different factors, occurred within early medieval Northumbria. One, in the south of the kingdom, centred upon York and the Humber estuary. The contacts between this region, the Continent, and the Anglo-Saxon communities was driven by economic considerations — the assemblages

from York and Flixborough are reflective of those seen from the great *wics* of the North Sea basin, such as Hamwic, Dorestad, and Ribe (Loveluck 1998; Mainman 1993). These contacts can be seen to continue throughout the period, beginning in the seventh century and continuing through the ninth century, although a marked decline in the quantity of goods imported is seen in the later eighth and ninth centuries. The second form of contact, made and maintained between the areas to the north of Northumbria and the southern North Sea basin, is less consistent. The imports into Whitby, Jarrow, and Wearmouth occur mainly in the late seventh and early eighth centuries. These seventh- and eighth-century contacts can be ascribed to the drive of Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrith to establish links between the Roman Church and the new monastic communities in Northumbria (Cramp 2005: 333). However, whilst the evidence is admittedly small, some contact must have occurred up to the ninth century, Continental pottery may have been imported until the mid-eighth century, and there is the coin of Æthelred of Wessex found at Lindisfarne.

Conclusion: Northumbrian Contacts with the Wider North Sea World

The possibility that vessels of this period may have navigated safely and easily along both the coastal waters of Northumbria and inland water networks alters how we should define the 'coast' in the early medieval period. Estuary zones, and the rivers that feed them, would be part of a network of sites within which it would be easy to transport people and goods with remarkable speed. Beyond a simple commentary on the occurrence of Anglo-Saxon sites near water (e.g. Gifford and Gifford 1999), a more complex relationship with the sea must have existed in the first millennium AD. Settlements placed along inland waterways, such as York, could be considered as part of a 'coastal highway' along the eastern coasts of the British isles, and no longer on the periphery.

Travel within the North Sea world was quicker and easier than has been generally assumed. It would have been possible for someone located within a coastal community in early medieval Northumbria to travel to Francia or northern Germany in just under five days; a long distance, but by no means prohibitive. Travel between communities within the British Isles would also have been markedly quicker if undertaken by sea. Thus, previous studies which have calculated travel times in the North Sea basin (e.g. Carver 1990) require some revision. By providing the shortest possible length of time it would take to travel between locations (at both cruising and maximum speeds, and by hours rather than days), various

scenarios can be constructed that allow for weather, wind speed, ports of call, and seasonality — all of which affect the distance travelled in one day.

Further sea-trials of full-scale vessels are required, alongside a full friction-surface analysis of the eastern sea-lanes, but the evidence presented so far indicates that travel times were shorter than those considered by Carver (1990). There is, of course, only fragmentary evidence for the use of early medieval sailing vessels. It can only be hoped that similar vessels to those from Skuldelev are discovered from Anglo-Saxon England. The evidence that does exist, however, suggests a society that would readily use vessels, possibly with sails, to navigate the coastal waters of England from the sixth century onwards.

If long-distance movement could readily occur, then links between coastal communities and the role of the North Sea in the early medieval period should be reassessed. Why were these contacts established? By whom? And were they regularly maintained throughout the period, or did they wax and wane depending upon personal power and authority? Imported goods to Jarrow, Wearmouth, and Whitby reflect how, during the establishment of the monastic communes, the founders of these communities, such as Benedict Biscop, turned to the Continent for items with which to stock these new foundations, just as they had turned to Merovingian Gaul for craftsmen and architects to construct the buildings (Fletcher 1980). Traditional understandings of the long-range contacts enjoyed by northern Northumbria would begin and end with those of the early monastic communities at Jarrow and Wearmouth and the individuals who created them (e.g. Cramp 1993; Peers and Radford 1942). Whilst these people and these contacts are, no doubt, the zenith of Continental links in the seventh century, some links must have continued through to the ninth century, as evidenced by the Wessex coin from Lindisfarne. Thus the exploitation of Continental contacts by Northumbrian communities is a complex set of relationships. In part, those in the southern half of the kingdom are similar, economic relationships, to those around the southern North Sea basin, whilst those from the northern areas may have been sponsored by people in positions of power and influence when expanding the Christian monastic communities. As Wooding (1996) suggested for the sea-lanes of western Britain in the early medieval period, a combination of economic, social, and political factors affected the waxing and waning of contacts on the coasts of Northumbria.

Coastal communities were part of a maritime North Sea world, linked together through shared cultural ties and contacts. The kingdoms and communities that inhabited the North Sea coasts should be considered in a similar vein to recent reassessments of the Atlantic seaboard and the Mediterranean basin (e.g. Cunliffe 2001; Horden and Purcell 2000). As part of this consideration, the communities

of the Northumbrian coast were not on the periphery of the Anglo-Saxon early medieval world, but were, in a sense, central. These communities were interconnected with those located upon inland waterways, which were easily and readily used throughout the early medieval period. The archaeological remains demonstrate stronger links with communities in East Anglia, Kent, or the Continent than with Mercia or the inhabitants of north-western Britain. Archaeologists and historians need to reconceptualize their understanding of coastal settlements in Northumbria from a land-based focus to one focused on the sea — not as a barrier but as a facilitator of communication, trade, and contact utilized by both powerful individuals and common traders.

Abbreviations

Beowulf = *Beowulf: A Verse Translation*, ed. and trans. by M. Alexander (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973)

HE = Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. by B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969)

Life Cuth. = Bede, *Life of St. Cuthbert*, ed. and trans. by B. Colgrave, in *Two Lives of St. Cuthbert: A Life by an Anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne and Bede's Prose Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940; repr. 1985), 141–307

Stephen, *Life Wilf.* = *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus*, ed. and trans. by B. Colgrave (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927; repr. 1985)

References

Archibald, M. M. 2005. 'Southern and Later Coins', in R. Cramp, *Wearmouth and Jarrow Monastic Sites*, vol. II (Swindon: English Heritage), 224–28

Bell, T. 1999. 'Reconstructing Archaeology from the Landscape: GIS, CAD and the Roman Signal Station at Whitby', in *Archaeology in the Age of the Internet: Proceedings of the CAA97 Conference 81*, ed. by L. Dingwall and others, BAR International Series, 750 (Oxford: Archaeopress)

Blair, J. 2007. 'Introduction', in *Waterways and Canal-building in Medieval England*, ed. by J. Blair (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 1–18

Cameron, P. N. 1982. 'Saxons, Sea and Sail', *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration*, 11.4: 319–32

Carver, M. O. H. 1990. 'Pre-Viking Traffic in the North Sea', in *Maritime Celts, Frisians, and Saxons*, ed. by S. McGrail, CBA Research Report, 71 (York: Council for British Archaeology), 117–25

———. 1998. 'Conversion and Politics on the Eastern Seaboard of Britain: Some Archaeological Indicators', in *Conversion and Christianity in the North Sea World*, ed. by B. Crawford (St Andrews: Committee for Dark Age Studies, University of St Andrews), 11–40

Cramp, R. 1993. 'A Reconsideration of the Monastic Site of Whitby', in *The Age of Migrating Ideas: Early Medieval Art in Northern Britain and Ireland; Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Insular Art held in the National Museums of Scotland in Edinburgh, 3–6 January 1991*, ed. by M. Spearman and J. Higgitt (Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland; Stroud: Sutton), 64–73

———. 2005. *Wearmouth and Jarrow Monastic Sites*, vol. I (Swindon: English Heritage)

Crumlin-Pedersen, O. 2007. 'Experimental Archaeology and Ships — Principles, Problems and Examples', in *Connected by the Sea: Proceedings of the Tenth International Symposium on Boat and Ship Archaeology*, ed. by L. Blue, F. Hocker, and A. Englert (Oxford: Oxbow), 1–7

Crumlin-Pedersen, O., and S. McGrail. 2006. 'Some Principals for the Reconstruction of Ancient Boat Structures', *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*, 35.1: 53–57

Crumlin-Pedersen, O., and O. Olsen. 1978. *Five Viking Ships from Roskilde Fjord* (Copenhagen: National Museum)

———. 2002. *The Skuldelev Ships*, vol. I: *Topography, Archaeology, History, Conservation and Display*, Ships and Boats of the North, 4.1 (Roskilde: Vikingaskibsmuseet)

Cunliffe, B. 2001. *Facing the Ocean: The Atlantic and its Peoples* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

Edmonds, F. 2007. 'Barrier or Unifying Feature? Defining the Nature of Early Medieval Water Transport in the North-West', in *Waterways and Canal-building in Medieval England*, ed. by J. Blair (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 21–36

Edwards, J., and P. Hindle. 1991. 'The Transportation System in Medieval England and Wales', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 17: 123–34

Ellmers, D. 1972. *Frühmittelalterliche Handelsschiffahrt in Mittel- und Nordeuropa* (Neumünster: Wachholtz)

Fenwick, V. (ed.). 1978. *The Graveney Boat*, BAR British Series, 53 (Greenwich: Archaeopress)

Filmer-Sankley, W. 1992. 'Snape Anglo-Saxon Cemetery: The Current State of Knowledge', in *The Age of Sutton Hoo: The Seventh Century in North-Western Europe*, ed. by M. O. H. Carver (Woodbridge: Boydell), 9–52

Fletcher, E. 1980. 'The Influence of Merovingian Gaul on Northumbria in the Seventh Century', *Medieval Archaeology*, 24: 69–86

Gifford, E., and J. Gifford. 1996. 'The Sailing Characteristics of Anglo-Saxon Ships as Derived from Half-scale Working Models with Special Reference to the Sutton Hoo Ship', *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*, 24: 131–53

———. 1999. 'The Art of Anglo-Saxon Shipbuilding', in *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. by J. Hawkes and S. Mills (Stroud: Sutton), 73–86

Goodburn, D. M. 1994. 'Anglo-Saxon Boat Finds from London, Are They English?', in *Crossroads in Ancient Shipbuilding: Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium on Boat and Ship Archaeology, Roskilde, 1991*, ed. by C. Westerdahl, Oxbow Monograph, 40 (Oxford: Oxbow), 23–76

Goodchild, R. G., and R. J. Forbes. 1957. 'Roads and Land Travel', in *A History of Technology*, vol. II, ed. by C. Singer and others (Oxford: Clarendon Press), 493–536

Green, C. 1963. *Sutton Hoo: The Excavation of a Royal Ship-Burial* (London: Merlin)

Haughton, C., and D. Powlesland. 1999. *West Heslerton: The Anglian Cemetery* (Yedingham: Landscape Research Centre)

Haywood, J. 1994. *Dark Age Naval Power* (London: Routledge)

Hodges, R. 1989. *Dark Age Economics: The Origins of Towns and Trade A.D. 600–1000* (London: Duckworth)

Horden, P., and N. Purcell. 2000. *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford: Blackwell)

Jobey, G., and T. G. Newman. 1975. 'A Collared Urn Cremation on Howick Heugh, Northumberland', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 5th series, 3: 1–16

Jones, E. T. 2000. 'River Navigation in Medieval England', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 26: 50–75

Langdon, J. 1993. '"Inland Water Transport" in Medieval England', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 19: 1–11

———. 2000. 'Inland Water Transport in Medieval England — the View from the Mills: A Response to Jones', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 26: 75–82

———. 2007. 'The Efficiency of Inland Water Transport in Medieval England', in *Waterways and Canal-building in Medieval England*, ed. by J. Blair (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 110–32

Lebecq, S. 1983. *Marchands et navigateurs risons du haut Moyen Âge* (Lille: Presses universitaires de Lille)

Loveluck, C. 1998. 'A High-status Anglo-Saxon Settlement at Flixborough, Lincolnshire', *Antiquity*, 72: 146–61

Loveluck, C., and D. Atkinson. 2007. *The Early Medieval Settlement Remains from Flixborough, Lincolnshire*, vol. I: *The Occupation Sequence, c. AD 600–1000* (Oxford: Oxbow)

Mainman, A. J. 1993. *Pottery from 46–54 Fishergate*, Archaeology of York: The Pottery, 16/6 (London: York Archaeological Trust)

Makepeace, J. 1993. 'Early Medieval Harbours in Northumbria' (unpublished master's dissertation, Centre for Medieval Studies, University of York)

Marcus, G. J. 1955. 'The Nydam Craft and the Anglo-Saxon Invasions', *Mariner's Mirror*, 41: 66

McGrail, S. 1998. *Ancient Boats in NW Europe: The Archaeology of Water Transport to A.D. 1500* (London: Longman)

———. 2007. 'Experimental Boat Archaeology: Has It a Future?', in *Connected by the Sea: Proceedings of the Tenth International Symposium on Boat and Ship Archaeology*, ed. by L. Blue and others (Oxford: Oxbow), 8–15

Milne, G. 1979. 'Medieval Riverfront Revetment Construction in London', in *The Archaeology of Medieval Ships and Harbours in Northern Europe*, ed. by S. McGrail, BAR International Series, 66 (Oxford: Archaeopress), 145–54

Morken, R. 1968. 'Norse Nautical Units and Distance Measurements', *Mariner's Mirror*, 54: 393–401

Newton, R. 1972. *The Northumberland Landscape* (London: Hodder and Stoughton)

O'Sullivan, D., and R. Young. 1991. 'The Early Medieval Settlement at Green Shiel, Northumberland', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 5th series, 19: 55–69

Peers, C. R., and C. A. R. Radford. 1942. 'The Saxon Monastery of Whitby', *Archaeologia*, 89: 27–88

Philipsen, J. P. W. 1965. 'The Utrecht Ship', *Mariner's Mirror*, 51: 35–46

Sherlock, S., and M. Simmons. 2008. 'A Seventh-Century Royal Cemetery at Street House, Northeast Yorkshire', *Antiquity*, 82 <http://www.antiquity.ac.uk.ezphost.dur.ac.uk/ProjGall/sherlock/index.html>

Wooding, J. M. 1996. *Communication and Commerce along the Western Sealanes AD 400–800*, BAR International Series, 654 (Oxford: Tempus Reparatum)

A Study in Regionality:
Hair Combs and Bone/Antler Craft in North-east England *c.* AD 800–1100

Steven P. Ashby

Introduction

Recent studies have begun to realize the potential of analyses of portable material culture in the elucidation of trade, culture contact, and identity. Studies of early medieval metalwork (e.g. Leahy and Paterson 2001; Thomas 2000) and ceramics (e.g. Blinkhorn 1997; Symonds 2003) have proven particularly illuminating. In contrast, worked bone and antler, as one of the most frequently recorded categories of material culture from early medieval excavations, is relatively understudied in social terms. Analyses of objects such as bone and antler pins, combs, and gaming pieces hold the potential to add to our understanding of issues such as culture contact and the construction and maintenance of identity. However, suppositions regarding the use of such items in the mediation and display of ethnicity-, gender-, or status-based identities must necessarily be built upon a better understanding of the means by which they were produced, exchanged, and distributed. Thus, there is a need for regionally based studies of artefact production and exchange.

This paper focuses on the manufacture and use of one particular form of artefact — the hair comb — with the aim of elucidating issues of trade, identity, and culture contact in a much broader sense. From a particularist standpoint, this paper helps to situate the comb-making industry of north-east England within its regional and inter-regional context. It is concerned with the recognition of patterning that may relate to manufacturing traditions, and choices made by manufacturers and consumers. Moreover, by considering the situation in the dynamic period between the ninth and twelfth centuries AD, it addresses the manner in which such

patterns changed through time. The focus will be on the north-east of England (including sites in York and Lincoln, as well as smaller settlements in Yorkshire such as Wharram and Cottam; further details in Ashby 2006a), but frequent allusion will necessarily be made to other parts of the British Isles, Scandinavia, and Continental Europe.

Bone and antler combs (and their components) are frequent finds from excavation deposits dating between the Roman and medieval periods. A particular feature of the Viking Age corpus is its perceived homogeneity. Indeed, it has been argued that combs of this date display uniformity of form and ornament throughout northern Europe (Ambrosiani 1981: 22, 40). Such a phenomenon demands explanation; what controlling influence could be responsible, and why did it emerge at this time?

As has been noted elsewhere (Ashby 2006b), it has become a received wisdom that Viking Age combs were produced by peripatetic craftsmen who travelled from market to market, collecting raw materials from the locals upon arrival, and manufacturing combs in temporary workshops. In order to maintain an active working life throughout the year, each combmaker attended several markets within a region. The zones of activity of each worker were not exclusive, resulting in the development of a pan-continental network of overlapping territories or catchment areas. As combmakers interacted with their fellow craftworkers, ideas were discussed and reproduced repeatedly across Europe.

The greatest proponent of this thesis was Kristina Ambrosiani (1981). Ambrosiani's model was based upon three principles:

1. There is little evidence for workshops producing combs on a significant scale.
2. There is evidence that certain comb forms (type 6 herein) were popular first in southern Scandinavia, and thereafter spread further north. Given that sources of raw material (antler) were more plentiful in northern Norway and Sweden than Denmark and Germany, conventional long-distance trade from south to north seems an unlikely mechanism for the distribution of combs.
3. Combs are ostensibly similar across northern Europe.

Given the inherent difficulties of arguing from negative evidence, and the fact that antler-working waste has been found in a number of Viking Age settlements in the British Isles (e.g. MacGregor and others 1999), Scandinavia (e.g. Ulbricht 1978), and further afield (e.g. Smirnova 2005), point (1) is problematic. Furthermore, point (2) is an assumption rather than an observation, and even if valid has little relevance to the situation outside of Scandinavia and northern Germany. Thus, Ambrosiani's model is fundamentally dependent on her supposition that geographical variation is absent in the European corpus. This assertion clearly merits further

investigation. A detailed study of the European corpus at large is beyond the scope of this paper, but the author has built a database of combs from northern Britain and Scandinavia (including 1144 combs, fragments, and items of related waste from northern England), with the aim of identifying any previously unrecognized material, morphological, or technological variation in this sample (Ashby 2006a). This has significant implications for the understanding of the organization of comb making in the British Isles and should encourage a closer look at material found elsewhere in Europe.

A number of the physical characteristics of combs may show variation. Raw materials are critical to reconstructing networks of comb distribution. Indeed, where antler can be identified to species level, it can be used as a sourcing method, as the distribution of deer species varies across Europe, and the use of local or imported materials has implications for the combmaker's level of mobility. For example, reindeer (*Rangifer tarandus*) and elk (*Alces alces*) were unknown in the British Isles during this period, and combs or waste antler from these deer species would hint at overseas contact (Clutton-Brock and MacGregor 1988). However, it has been shown that raw material use in the northern Danelaw is most consistent with a locally based industry, rather than with long-range trade or a network of peripatetic craftsmen (Ashby 2006b).

Greater clarity may be attained through the investigation of further areas of variation. However, given the relative youth of worked-bone studies, a lead must be taken from the analysis of other classes of artefact. In metalwork, the stylistic analysis of Viking Age brooches has proven successful in distinguishing the diffusion of ideas and the movement of craftsmen (Michelli 1993). Analogous techniques are applicable in the present case. In particular, much can be learnt through the study of variation in comb form and methods of manufacture. This paper will look first at spatial patterning in these phenomena, and will then move on to consider their chronological dynamics.

Variation in Comb Form

There is considerable potential for the recognition of local and regional variation in comb morphology. Patterning is evident in individual traits, but for the sake of simplicity, discussion will be restricted to the distribution of broad morphotypes, with all the caveats of generalization that this implies. The author has recorded combs from contexts ranging in date from late Roman and Early Saxon to late and post-medieval. Until now, no coherent typology has existed for such an extended time range, and it has been necessary to generate a new fourteen-type scheme (see

Ashby 2007). Herein the focus is on a subset of comb forms current between the eighth and twelfth centuries; namely types 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 12 (Figures 18–20). Table 11 shows the relative numbers of these combs recovered from the study area.

Table 11. Total numbers of combs in northern England study area.

Types	2	3	4	5	6	7	8a	8b	8c	9	12	13	Total
Frequency (Large Fragments & Complete Combs)	20	15	24	2	25	42	5	9	4	4	41		191
Frequency (Small & Tiny Fragments)	80	29	36	4	31	29	13	11	2	4	199	2	440
Total	100	44	60	6	56	71	18	20	6	8	240	2	631

The only double-sided comb of note here is type 12, a comparatively simple form, with rudimentary decoration and undifferentiated teeth. Examples are known from fifth- to ninth-century England, Atlantic Scotland, and western Continental Europe, but they do not seem to have been favoured in Scandinavia. Broadly contemporary with these are type 2 combs. These single-sided combs have connecting plates of shallow or flattened section and deeply curved ('hogbacked') profiles, and often feature conspicuously flared ('winged') endplates. They are common site finds from phases dating from between the fifth and ninth centuries. In Northumbria, examples are known from York (e.g. Ashby and Spall 2005; Rogers 1993: 1394–95), Wharram (MacGregor 2000: 148–50), and Cottam (Richards 1999: 82).

Type 3 is composed of handled and asymmetric combs, but it is notable that the latter are unknown in Northumbria (and, to the author's knowledge, in the British Isles as a whole). In contrast, handled combs — once seen as a Frisian form — have been convincingly demonstrated to be a well-represented Anglo-Saxon type (Riddler 1990), and examples are known from a number of sites in Northumbria, including Cottam (Richards 1999: 82) and Fishergate, York (Rogers 1993: 1388–94). This pattern is suggestive of an important difference between the Continental and English corpora.

Type 4 'riveted mounts' are short, roughly hewn strips, usually of bone, fastened with two, three, or four iron rivets. They may represent a largely English form (the situation in Ireland seems similar, but we await publication of the Dublin corpus for confirmation of this pattern). In England, these plates are commonly recovered from excavations in large tenth- and eleventh-century market centres such as York (MacGregor and others 1999: 1952), Lincoln (Mann 1982: 8), and Winchester
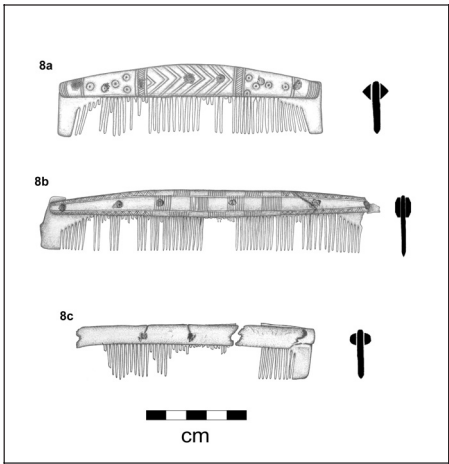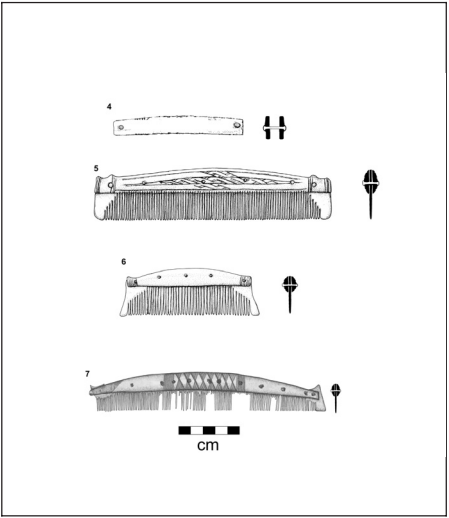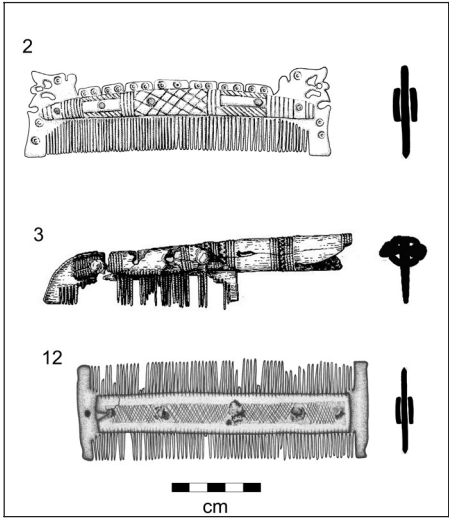
Figure 18 (above left). Examples of comb types recovered from contexts in northern England *c.* AD 700–1000. Types 2, 3, 12. Illustrations by Pat Walsh (Northamptonshire Archaeology), Frances Chaloner (courtesy Julian D. Richards), and Hayley Saul.

Figure 19 (above right). Examples of comb types recovered from contexts in northern England *c.* AD 800–1100. Types 4, 5, 6, 7. Illustrations by Steve Ashby, Pat Walsh (Northamptonshire Archaeology), and Hayley Saul.

Figure 20 (left). Examples of comb types recovered from contexts in northern England *c.* AD 900–1300. Types 8a, 8b, 8c. Illustrations by Hayley Saul.

(Biddle 1990; Pritchard 1991: 199). It seems likely that they are the remains of utilitarian horn combs fixed with bone plates, and they may well have been mass-produced and sold as an inexpensive alternative to a composite antler comb. However, the author knows of no examples of similar objects from Scandinavia. Thus, type 4 combs seem to be restricted to certain areas of western Europe and, superficially at least, seem to contradict the supposed close articulation between Baltic and Anglo-Scandinavian combmakers.

There is also a disparity in the distribution of more typically 'Viking' combs, such as the long combs of shallow section that make up type 5 (known by

Ambrosiani as 'A' combs), and which are generally accepted as characteristic of the early Viking Age (ninth to early tenth centuries). Type 5 combs are rarely recovered from archaeological contexts in northern England (though see Rogers 1993: 1396; Thompson 1954; Waterman 1959: fig. 17.2). This contrasts sharply with the situation in Scandinavia (e.g. Ambrosiani 1981) and its areas of influence both in the North Atlantic (e.g. Curle 1982) and further east (e.g. Davidan 1977). While the paucity of English examples may be partially related to the fact that the majority of excavated Viking Age sites in England date to the tenth century or later, the number of comb forms traditionally seen as 'pre-Viking' (types 12, 2, and 3) in the analysed sample is striking (particularly given the low frequency of type 5 combs), and it is clear that such forms are not restricted to deposits of the seventh and eighth centuries. Type 12 combs, for example, were recovered from tenth-century contexts at Coppergate and 22 Piccadilly, York (MacGregor and others 1999: 1932–33, table 165). The publication of more ninth- and early tenth-century collections is necessary before the situation can be fully understood, but it is clear that type 5 combs were not enthusiastically adopted by the inhabitants of early Viking Age Northumbria.

In the tenth and eleventh centuries, types 6 (shorter, deeper, Ambrosiani B combs) and 7 (characterized by a deep plano-convex connecting plate section, and an irregular, often bowed profile) come to dominate the Northumbrian corpus (there are large numbers from tenth- and eleventh-century contexts at Coppergate and other sites in York; see MacGregor and others 1999: 1930). Type 6 is common across the Scandinavian world, and it seems — at least on the basis of the comb evidence — that by this point Northumbria was much more fully integrated into the northern European community. Nonetheless, decoration is rudimentary and bears poor comparison with that seen in Scandinavia, while waste deposits of red deer antler demonstrate that large numbers of combs were made in England. Manufacturing techniques lend clarity to the situation (see below), but on the basis of raw material and form alone, it is hard to be sure if type 6 combs were imported or made in England by local craftsmen, using a template common to that employed elsewhere in Europe.

Other combs that were in circulation at this point seem to have been much more regional in style. Type 7, for example, which is contemporary with type 6, is difficult to parallel outside of the British Isles. Such combs are rare in northern Scandinavia, though the type is known in the southern Baltic (Tempel 1969: 94–97). However, the closest parallels come from Ireland, and there are numerous examples from Dublin (Dunlevy 1988: 364). Interestingly, from around the tenth century, and into the twelfth, England also saw the appearance of type 8 combs (see

MacGregor and others 1999: 1930; Carver 1979: 24); first those with triangular (8a) and trapezoidal (8b) connecting plate profiles, later giving way to very straight, plain forms (8c). Such combs have also been recovered in Ireland (Dunlevy 1988: 366–68) and Atlantic Scotland (Ashby 2006a: 191–93), but are comparatively scarce in Scandinavia north and west of the Baltic.

Indeed, the most popular combs in much of Scandinavia were the distinctive types 9 and 13 (Figure 21).

Figure 21. Examples of comb types recovered from contexts in Scandinavia *c*. AD 950–1500. Types 9 and 13 (representative examples of diverse classes). Illustrations by Pat Walsh (Northamptonshire Archaeology) and Hayley Saul.

These forms, which feature copper alloy plating and riveting, and occasional use of openwork ornament, were produced in large numbers in the late Viking Age and medieval towns of Norway, Denmark, and Sweden, but are rare in England (though see Ashby 2006a: 146–47; MacGregor 1985: 91; Smith 1909). Thus, from the late tenth century there is evidence for further segregation of the Scandinavian and English traditions. In particular, a clear division begins to emerge between discrete Scandinavian-European and English-Irish stylistic schools. In the following centuries, it is notable that Norman England and Ireland share a move towards simple, one-piece double-sided combs, while what may be referred to as the 'Scandinavian world' (incorporating eastern Europe, northern Scotland, and the islands of the North Atlantic) continue to use copper alloy riveted combs into the fourteenth century and beyond. Thus, the evidence from formal typology is suggestive of a disarticulation of the Scandinavian and Northumbrian comb-making traditions from the late tenth century onwards.

Variation in Method of Manufacture

It is instructive to consider whether such patterning is equally observable on a finer scale. With this in mind, the combs in the database were analysed in terms of over

Table 12. Variation in rivet materials used in combs from north-east England. Includes only combs for which rivet material could be determined. **Bold = combs over 50 per cent complete**; (parentheses = combs less than 50 per cent complete).

Type	Iron	Copper Alloy	Unknown N/A	Total
2	**20** (31)		-49	**20** (80)
3	**15** (16)		-13	**15** (29)
4	**17** (10)		7 (26)	**24** (36)
5	**2** (2)		-2	**2** (4)
6	**24** (18)	-1	**1** (12)	**25** (31)
7	**42** (22)		-7	**42** (29)
8	**17** (18)	**1**	-8	**18** (26)
9	**3** (2)	**1** (2)		**4** (4)
10				
11				
12	**10** (41)		**31** (158)	**41** (199)
13		-1	-1	-2
Total	**150** (160)	**2** (4)	**39** (276)	**191** (440)

fifty variables, and the results analysed qualitatively, quantitatively, and statistically. These analyses demonstrated that while there is some variation in ornament, in general it is the less visible aspects of design that are the most interesting: those related to the choices taken in the basic construction of a comb (see Ashby 2006a). In detail, the most useful facets of manufacturing technique related to riveting practice. Across the British Isles and Scandinavia, otherwise similar combs were frequently found to be fixed using rivets of different materials, and in distinctive configurations. In north-east England, for example, combs were invariably secured with iron rivets (Table 12) and at alternating edges of toothplates (Figure 22 and Table 13). This seems to hold true irrespective of type and throughout the region. The situation is somewhat different in Scandinavia (and further east), where a variety of arrangements were used in types 5 and 6, including the 'every edge' and 'central' configurations (Table 14). Moreover, type 6 combs often used copper alloy rivets; particularly in the east of northern Europe, and at Birka, type 6 combs invariably utilized this material (Ambrosiani 1981: 72).

Thus, it is possible to track the broad changes in rivetting technique on a European scale. While iron-rivetted combs were common everywhere around the ninth century, by the eleventh, copper alloy–rivetted combs were dominant in Scandinavia. These forms then spread to the Scandinavian colonies of northern Scotland (Ashby 2006a: 233–37), while England continued to use iron until composite

Table 13. Riveting techniques in combs from north-east England (combs over 50 per cent complete only).

Type	Alternating	Central	Decorative	Every Edge	Other	Mixed	Unknown	N/A	Total
2	8			2		1	9		20
3	7			2		1	5		15
4					20		4		24
5				1			1		2
6	10	3	1	5		3	3		25
7	37			3		2			42
8	9			2		3	4		18
9	2		1	1					4
12	5			4		3	29		41
13									
Total	78	3	2	20	20	13	55		191

Table 14. Manufacturing methods at key European sites. See Figure 22 for explanation of riveting terms. Dublin and other sites in Britain and Ireland are not yet published in sufficient detail to warrant inclusion herein.

Site	Riveting Materials	Riveting Methods	Published Source
Bergen	Copper Alloy	Central, Decorative	Hansen 2005
Birka	Iron, Copper Alloy	Every Edge, Alternating Edge	Ambrosiani 1981
Gotland	Iron, Copper Alloy	Every Edge, Decorative	Carlsson 2002
Haithabu	Iron	Alternating Edge, Every Edge, Decorative	Tempel 1969; Ulbricht 1978
Hamwic	Iron	Alternating Edge	Addyman and Hill 1969
Novgorod	Iron, Copper Alloy	Central, Every Edge, Alternating Edge, Decorative	Smirnova 2005
Oslo	Copper Alloy	Every Edge, Central, Decorative	Wiberg 1977; 1979; Wiberg 1987
Trondheim	Copper Alloy	Every Edge, Central, Decorative	Flodin 1989
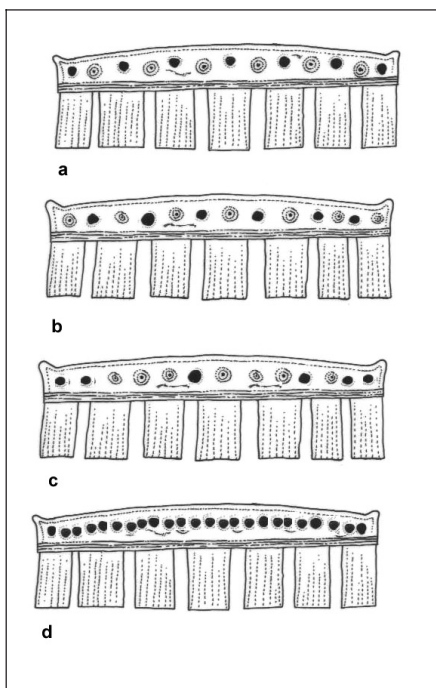
Figure 22. Riveting methods used in the manufacturing of combs in northern Europe *c*. AD 700–1500: (a) central, (b) every edge, (c) alternating edge, (d) decorative. Illustrations by Sven Grabow and Steve Ashby.

combs were ultimately replaced, by one-piece forms with no rivets at all, sometime in the later medieval period. This is a necessarily simplified history of manufacture, but it does serve to illustrate the key points.

Thus, within north-east England, there is little sign of geographical variation in technique, but there is a suggestion of a largely 'English and Irish' mode of construction, using techniques that would have been familiar to previous generations of combmakers in the British Isles (Ashby 2006a: 217–28). Such conservatism is remarkable, given the varied techniques employed on the other side of the North Sea. It seems that the industry was influenced by, rather than driven by, Scandinavian and Continental ideas. Thus, though combmakers were aware of current fashions in Europe and Scandinavia, they interpreted them through the exploitation of locally available materials and the application of construction methods that were familiar rather than innovative.

Comb-craft in Diachronic Perspective

This clarification of the relationship between combmakers in Northumbria and Scandinavia is significant, but it is important that such a focus on regional variation does not lead to the production of a flat history. Indeed, the period between *c*. AD 700 and 1200 was highly dynamic in terms of economy and politics, and this is reflected in the changing fashions in comb form, if not manufacturing techniques. It is thus instructive to briefly summarize the main developments in comb-craft that took place between the eighth and twelfth centuries.

In the eighth century, building upon the well-established Middle Saxon craft, combs of forms 2, 3, and 12 began to be produced in numbers. The craftsmen involved worked primarily in bone, though they also exploited antler, walrus ivory,

horn, and even horncore (see Ashby 2005). Construction methods seem to have been uniformly applied. Moreover, for much of the ninth century, comb forms remained stable, with forms 3 and 12 being produced even as type 5 was coming to dominate in Scandinavia and on the Continent. Indeed, at least early on, the presence of Scandinavians seemed to do little to change this, and type 5 combs remain rare finds in northern England. However, bone begins to be overtaken by antler as the dominant material, suggesting that this well-known change is a chronological development (no doubt related to changes in access to resources, themselves brought about by transformations in regional politics and settlement morphology), rather than a particular Scandinavian influence. Otherwise, construction methods remain conservative.

As the ninth century drew to a close, the Continent-wide fashion for type 6 combs was felt in Northumbria, although examples were invariably pinned with iron, rather than copper alloy, rivets as was the trend in Scandinavia (e.g. Birka, Ambrosiani 1981: 72). Rivetting practice continued as it had throughout the last few centuries, in contrast to that seen in Norway and Sweden. In addition, type 7 became popular, but in Scandinavia was significant only at Haithabu.

From the tenth century onwards, type 6 and 7 combs gave way to type 8, eventually becoming straight, simple, and functional. One might see this as part of an English movement away from combs as elaborate dress accessories and towards a view of them as functional toilet items. Indeed, over the course of the Middle Ages these combs gradually drop out of the archaeological record and were arguably superseded by simple combs in organic materials. Ultimately, such combs were replaced in the late medieval period by one-piece, double-sided combs of bone, and it is notable that the ornate copper alloy rivetted and plated combs of Scandinavia, the Baltic, Russia, and Atlantic Scotland are rarely recovered from archaeological excavations in England.

Discussion: Development of an Industry

When one takes this chronological development into account, a closer reading of geographical variation is possible, and contrary to the popularly accepted assertions of Ambrosiani (1981), it becomes clear that there is regional variation in type frequency across Europe. Moreover, the regional corpora display quantifiable differences between combs within a given type (which, given the restrictions of space, must be the topic of a future publication), and though there is broad homogeneity within particular forms, this can be interpreted in relatively simple terms. To the

eye of the present author, and with the support of multivariate statistics (see Ashby 2006a), the perceived similarity of Viking Age combs is restricted to type 5 (and thus the ninth and early tenth centuries). It is best explained as a result of the early Viking Age diaspora, with many combs representing the property of travellers and migrants, displaced from their original place of manufacture. Indeed, this was a period in which mobility, particularly amongst the aristocracy, was remarkable, and as dress accessories, combs were a portable and highly visible piece of material culture. In addition, the ornate appearance of many type 5 combs suggests that they may have been seen as prestige goods, changing hands via gift exchange. In Sweden, the similarity of type 5 comb ornament to that seen on Saami artefacts has been taken as indicative of combs playing a role in the maintenance of the relationship between the Norse and their northern neighbours (whether that relationship be one of exchange or extortion; see Odner 1985; Storli 1993). By these means — travel, tribute, and reciprocity — type 5 combs became widely distributed in northern Europe, but the paucity of examples found in England suggests that there was little direct Scandinavian influence on comb form in the ninth century. Thus, one need not postulate the presence of itinerant craftsmen, or not, at least, on a regional (i.e. trans–North Sea or pan-European) scale.

Between the mid-tenth and twelfth centuries, the northern European 'template' was better recognized, with some type 6 combs probably being made in England, albeit using local materials and manufacturing methods. However, Scandinavia was not the primary influence on Anglo-Scandinavian comb fashion, as types 3, 4, 7, and 8 were all produced in this period, and all seem to be local innovations. Indeed, at this point the combmakers of northern England seem to be looking first to Ireland for their fashions, rather than across the North Sea.

These dynamics have not been previously recognized in the English comb corpus. However, the idea that the situation may have been complex and regionally and politically contingent finds some support in the documentary record; contrary to Ambrosiani's argument for itinerant production, Dunlevy (1988: 345) and MacGregor (1992) have cited early Irish sources that suggest the combmaker may have followed a stable, sedentary lifestyle. In concert with the archaeological arguments outlined above, this, admittedly anecdotal, evidence lends support to the possibility of a significant component of comb manufacture having taken place in small, locally based workshops.

Moreover, if the apparent dominance of types 12, 2, and 3 combs (relative to type 5) in ninth- and early tenth-century England can be verified through further excavations, it might be taken to suggest that demand was for 'Anglian' forms, rather than being driven by pan-Continental fashions. The combmaker's

customers must have been aware of the increasing Scandinavian presence during this period, and of their taste in combs and other dress accessories. Thus, such conservatism must have been by active choice and may relate to the construction and display of an Anglian, or rather non-Norse, identity. By the tenth century the situation was starting to change, with the popularity of type 6 combs suggestive of a populace more intimately integrated into the Scandinavian-European milieu (at least in terms of dress accessories). However, the situation is more complex than this, with the continued popularity of type 3 combs indicative of a certain demographic still feeling the need to display some form of 'Anglo-Saxon' identity. Of course, it is not possible to claim that the owners of such combs were of Anglian birth, only that they wished to assert their identity in opposition to a perceived 'Scandinavian' presence (see Jones 1997). Moreover, insofar as type 4 rivetted mounts and type 7 and 8 combs are distinctive components of the corpus of Anglo-Scandinavian and Hiberno-Norse material culture, they might perhaps be seen as 'colonial' items. As such, they may be compared with hogback stones (Lang 1984) or Norse bells (Batey 1988; Richards 2001: 272–73) and demonstrate the presence of further nuance in comb style.

Between the tenth and twelfth centuries, English combs seem to have become progressively plainer and more efficiently made, and ultimately, one-piece combs (or those in perishable materials) became the norm in the later Middle Ages. This is surely reflective of an increasingly functional view of the role of these objects, in which their importance is seen primarily in terms of hygiene and grooming, rather than as dress accessories in their own right. Moreover, it is indicative of the genesis of a more organized, mass-production-based industry, rather than a small-scale artisan's craft. Although a similar transition is visible in Scandinavia, with organized production identified at places such as Trondheim, Bergen, and Schleswig (see Christophersen 1980; Flodin 1989; Hansen 2005; Ulbricht 1980; 1984), the combs manufactured at these sites were still fundamentally ornamental objects, with decorative use of rivets and plating. The fact that they are well distributed around central and eastern Europe, Atlantic Scotland, and Iceland, but largely absent from England and Ireland, seems indicative of a fundamental difference in viewpoint regarding the meaning and purpose of combs, and of an economic disarticulation of the two 'worlds'. Thus, the combs suggest that the relationship between north-eastern England and Scandinavia was complex and mutable, and was doubtless contingent upon the prevailing social, economic, and political currents of the time. Nonetheless, the variability displayed in the comb corpus is evidence of the existence of distinct but previously unrecognized regional fashions and manufacturing traditions. These oft-overlooked objects thus hold considerable

potential to contribute to our understanding of culture contact in the Viking Age, and as the role of portable material culture in the construction of identity becomes increasingly clear, they will surely play an important part in forthcoming archaeological debate.

Acknowledgements

References

Addyman, P. V. and D. H. Hill. 1969. 'Saxon Southampton: A Review of the Evidence, Part II: Industry, Trade and Everyday Life', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society*, 26: 61–96

Ambrosiani, K. 1981. *Viking Age Combs, Comb Making and Comb Makers in the Light of Finds from Birka and Ribe*, Stockholm Studies in Archaeology, 2 (Stockholm: Department of Archaeology, University of Stockholm)

Ashby, S. P. 2005. 'Craft and Industries: Bone, Antler and Horn-working', in *Blue Bridge Lane and Fishergate House, York: Report on Excavations; July 2000 to July 2002*, ed. by C. Spall and N. Toop, <http://archaeologicalplanningconsultancy.co.uk/mono/001> [accessed 20 September 2005]

———. 2006a. 'Time, Trade and Identity: Bone and Antler Combs in Northern Britain c. AD700–1400' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of York)

———. 2006b. 'Trade in Viking Age Britain: Identity and the Production and Distribution of Bone and Antler Combs', in *Dynamics of Northern Societies: Proceedings of the SILA/NABO Conference on Arctic and North Atlantic Archaeology, Copenhagen, May 10th–14th 2004*, ed. by J. Arneborg and B. Grønnow, Studies in Archaeology and History, 10 (Copenhagen: Publications from the National Museum), 273–79

———. 2007. 'Bone and Antler Combs', *Finds Research Group Datasheet*, 40

Ashby, S. P., and C. Spall. 2005. 'Artefact and Environmental Evidence: Bone, Antler, Ivory and Horn Objects', in *Blue Bridge Lane and Fishergate House, York: Report on Excavations; July 2000 to July 2002*, ed. by C. Spall and N. Toop, <http://archaeologicalplanningconsultancy.co.uk/mono/001> [accessed 20 September 2005]

Batey, C. E. 1988. 'A Viking-Age Bell from Freswick Links, Caithness', *Medieval Archaeology*, 31: 213–16

Biddle, M. 1990. 'Toilet Equipment: Combs of Horn and Bone', in *Object and Economy in Medieval Winchester*, ed. by M. Biddle, Winchester Studies, 7.2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press), 678–90

Blinkhorn, P. W. 1997. 'Habitus, Social Identity and Anglo-Saxon Pottery', in *Not So Much a Pot, More a Way of Life: Current Approaches to Artefact Analysis in Archaeology*, ed. by C. G. Cumberpatch and P. W. Blinkhorn (Oxford: Oxbow), 113–24

Carlsson, D. 2002. *Viking and Medieval Combs from the Island of Gotland, Sweden* (CD-ROM) (Visby: Arkeodok)

Carver, M. O. H. 1979. 'Three Saxo-Norman Tenements in Durham City', *Medieval Archaeology*, 23: 1–80

Christophersen, A. 1980. 'Raw Material, Resources and Production Capacity in Early Medieval Comb Manufacture in Lund', *Meddelanden från Lunds universitets historiska museum 1979–1980 (Papers of the Archaeological Institute, University of Lund1979–1980)*, 3: 150–65

Clutton-Brock, J., and A. MacGregor. 1988. 'An End to Medieval Reindeer in Scotland', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 118: 23–35

Curle, C. L. 1982. *Pictish and Norse Finds from the Brough of Birsay 1934–74*, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland Monograph Series, 1 (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland)

Davidan. 1977. 'K voporosu ob organizacii Kostoreznogo remesla v Drevenei Ladoge', *Arkheologicheskii Sbornik*, 4: 101–05

Dunlevy, M. M. 1988. 'A Classification of Early Irish Combs', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 88: 341–422

Flodin, L. 1989. *Kammakeriet i Trodheim ca. 1000–1600*, Meddelelse, 14 (Trondheim: Riksantikvaren)

Hansen, G. 2005. *Bergen c.800–1170: The Emergence of a Town*, Bryggen Papers: Main Series, 6 (Bergen: Fagbokforlaget)

Jones, S. 1997. *The Archaeology of Ethnicity* (London: Routledge)

Lang, J. T. 1984. 'The Hogback: A Viking Colonial Monument', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 3: 85–176

Leahy, K., and C. Paterson. 2001. 'New Light on the Viking Presence in Lincolnshire: The Artefactual Evidence', in *Vikings and the Danelaw: Select Papers from the Proceedings of the Thirteenth Viking Congress*, ed. by J. Graham-Campbell and others (Oxford: Oxbow), 181–202

MacGregor, A. 1985. *Bone, Antler, Ivory and Horn: The Technology of Skeletal Materials Since the Roman Period* (London: Croom Helm)

———. 1992. 'Antler, Bone and Horn 400–1500: Industries in Transition', in *Art and Symbolism: Pre-printed Papers*, vol. VII, ed. by G. De Boe and F. Verhaeghe (York: Medieval Europe), 163–68

———. 2000. 'Bone and Antler Objects', in *Wharram: A Study of Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds*, vol. VIII: *The South Manor Area*, ed. by P. A. Stamper and R. A. Croft, York University Archaeological Publications, 10 (York: University of York), 148–54

MacGregor, A., and others. 1999. *Craft, Industry and Everyday Life: Bone, Antler, Ivory and Horn from Anglo-Scandinavian and Medieval York*, Archaeology of York, 17/2 (York: Council for British Archaeology)

Mann, J. E. 1982. *Early Medieval Finds from Flaxengate*, vol. I: *Objects of Antler, Bone, Stone, Horn, Ivory, Amber, and Jet* (London: Council for British Archaeology)

Michelli, P. 1993. 'Migrating Ideas or Migrating Craftsmen? The Case of the Bossed Pennanular Brooches', in *The Age of Migrating Ideas: Early Medieval Art in Northern Britain and Ireland; Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Insular Art held in the National Museums of Scotland in Edinburgh, 3–6 January 1991*, ed. by M. Spearman and J. Higgitt (Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland; Stroud: Sutton), 182–87

Odner, K. 1985. 'Saamis (Lapps), Finns and Scandinavians in History and Prehistory: Ethnic Origins and Ethnic Processes in Fenno-Scandinavia', *Norwegian Archaeological Review*, 18: 1–13

Pritchard, F. 1991. 'Small Finds', in *Aspects of Saxo-Norman London*, vol. II: *Finds and Environmental Evidence*, ed. by A. Vince, London and Middlesex Archaeological Society Special Paper, 12 (London: London and Middlesex Archaeological Society), 120–278

Richards, J. D. 1999. 'Cottam: An Anglo-Scandinavian Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds', *Archaeological Journal*, 156: 1–110

———. 2001. 'Finding the Vikings: The Search for Anglo-Scandinavian Rural Settlement in the Northern Danelaw', in *Vikings and the Danelaw: Select Papers from the Proceedings of the Thirteenth Viking Congress*, ed. by J. Graham-Campbell and others (Oxford: Oxbow), 269–77

Riddler, I. 1990. 'Saxon Handled Combs from London', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 41: 9–20

Rogers, N. S. H. 1993. *Anglian and Other Finds from Fishergate*, Archaeology of York, 17/9 (London: Council for British Archaeology)

Smirnova, L. 2005. *Comb-Making in Medieval Novgorod (950–1450): An Industry in Transition*, BAR International Series, 1369 (Oxford: Archaeopress)

Smith, R. A. 1909. 'Anglo-Saxon Remains', in *Victoria History of the Counties of England: London*, vol. I, ed. by W. Page (London: Constable), 147–70

Storli, I. 1993. 'Sami Viking Age Pastoralism — or "The Fur Trade Paradigm" Reconsidered', *Norwegian Archaeological Review*, 26: 17–20

Symonds, L. 2003. *Landscape and Social Practice: The Production of Pottery in 10th-Century Lincolnshire*, BAR British Series, 345 (Oxford: Archaeopress)

Tempel, W.-D. 1969. 'Die Dreilagenkämme aus Haithabu: Studien zu den Kämmen der Wikingerzeit im Nordseeküstengebiet und Skandinavien' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Göttingen)

Thomas, G. 2000. 'Anglo-Scandinavian Metalwork from the Danelaw: Exploring Social and Cultural Interaction', in *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. by D. M. Hadley and J. D. Richards (Turnhout: Brepols), 237–55

Thompson, F. H. 1954. 'A Comb Fragment from Caistor, Lincs', *Antiquaries Journal*, 34: 77–78

Ulbricht, I. 1978. *Die Geweihverarbeitung in Haithabu*, Die Ausgrabungen in Haithabu, 7 (Neumünster: Wachholtz)

———. 1980. 'Middelalderlig kamproduktion i Slesvig', *Hikuin*, 6: 147–52

———. 1984. *Die Verarbeitung von Knochen, Geweih und Horn im mittelalterlichen Schleswig*, Ausgrabungen in Schleswig: Berichten und Studien, 3 (Neumünster: Wacholtz)

Waterman, D. 1959. 'Late Saxon, Viking, and Early Medieval Finds from York', *Archaeologia*, 97: 59–105

Wiberg, C. 1977. 'Horn og Beinmaterialet fra "Mindets tomt"', in *De arkeologiske utgravninger i Gamlebyen, Oslo*, vol. I: *Feltet 'Mindets tomt'*, ed. by H. I. Høeg and others (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget), 202–13

———. 1979. 'Beinmaterialet', in *De arkeologiske utgravninger i Gamlebyen, Oslo*, vol. II: *Feltene 'Oslogate 3 og 7'*, ed. by E. Schia (Oslo: Alvheim & Eide), 59–63

Wiberg, T. 1987. 'Kammer', in *De Arkeologiske utgravninger i Gamlebyen, Oslo*, vol. III: *Sondre felt*, ed. by E. Schia (Oslo: Alvheim & Eide), 413–22

INDEX

Studies in the Early Middle Ages

All volumes in this series are evaluated by an Editorial Board, strictly on academic grounds, based on reports prepared by referees who have been commissioned by virtue of their specialism in the appropriate field. The Board ensures that the screening is done independently and without conflicts of interest. The definitive texts supplied by authors are also subject to review by the Board before being approved for publication. Further, the volumes are copyedited to conform to the publisher's stylebook and to the best international academic standards in the field.

Titles in Series

Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries, ed. by Dawn M. Hadley and Julian D. Richards (2000)

On Barbarian Identity: Critical Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages, ed. by Andrew Gillett (2002)

Matthew Townend, *Language and History in Viking Age England: Linguistic Relations between Speakers of Old Norse and Old English* (2002)

Contact, Continuity, and Collapse: The Norse Colonization of the North Atlantic, ed. by James H. Barrett (2003)

Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages: The Proceedings of the First Alcuin Conference, ed. by Catherine Cubitt (2003)

Political Assemblies in the Earlier Middle Ages, ed. by P. S. Barnwell and Marco Mostert (2003)

Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference, ed. by Matthew Townend (2004)

Borders, Barriers, and Ethnogenesis: Frontiers in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, ed. by Florin Curta (2006)

John D. Niles, *Old English Enigmatic Poems and the Play of the Texts* (2006)

Teaching and Learning in Northern Europe, 1000–1200, ed. by Sally N. Vaughn and Jay Rubenstein (2006)

Narrative and History in the Early Medieval West, ed. by Elizabeth M. Tyler and Ross Balzaretti (2006)

People and Space in the Middle Ages, 300–1300, ed. by Wendy Davies, Guy Halsall, and Andrew Reynolds (2006)

John D. Niles, *Old English Heroic Poems and the Social Life of Texts* (2007)

The Crisis of the Oikoumene*: The Three Chapters and the Failed Quest for Unity in the Sixth-Century Mediterranean*, ed. by Celia Chazelle and Catherine Cubitt (2007)

Text, Image, Interpretation: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature and its Insular Context in Honour of Éamonn Ó Carragáin, ed. by Alastair Minnis and Jane Roberts (2007)

The Old English Homily: Precedent, Practice, and Appropriation, ed. by Aaron J. Kleist (2007)

James T. Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons in a Frankish World, 690–900* (2009)

Challenging the Boundaries of Medieval History: The Legacy of Timothy Reuter, ed. by Patricia Skinner (2009)

Peter Verbist, *Duelling with the Past: Medieval Authors and the Problem of the Christian Era, c. 990–1135* (2010)

Reading the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Language, Literature, History, ed. by Alice Jorgensen (2010)

England and the Continent in the Tenth Century: Studies in Honour of Wilhelm Levison (1876–1947), ed. by David Rollason, Conrad Leyser, and Hannah Williams (2010)

In Preparation

Neglected Barbarians, ed. by Florin Curta

Conceptualizing Multilingualism in Medieval England, c. 800–c. 1250, ed. by Elizabeth M. Tyler

The Genesis of Books: Studies in the Scribal Culture of Medieval England in Honour of A. N. Doane, ed. by Matthew T. Hussey and John D. Niles